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# JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
# 1932
## PART III—JULY


## Local Self-Government in the Vedic Literature

By B G BHATNAGAR

### I THE GLEANINGS FROM THE RIGVEDA—I to IX *Mandalas*, 1200 TO 1000 B C

IN the first nine *mandalas* of the *Rigveda* there is hardly anything which deals directly with local government or which, even indirectly, could give us an idea of the constitution and working of local government institutions of the period The only terms which we find used in the sense of a locality of some sort are (1) *Gaya*, (2) *Grha*, (3) *Pastya*, (4) *Harmya*, (5) *Grāma*, (6) *Pūr*, (7) *Viś*, and (8) *Rāstra* Of these the first four are all used in the sense of a house or household. The term *Grāma* is used both in the sense of a village [1] (that is a locality) and a body of men [2] (that is a division of the Āryan people) The term *Pūr*, though understood by some [3] to mean a town, is distinctly used in the sense of a fortification [4]

The term *Viś* is interpreted by some to mean the area under the settlement of a *Viś* , while others think that it was merely a division of the people (the *Jana*) and was not the name of that locality which happened to be colonized by a *Viś* However, I am inclined to think that, like the term *Grāma*, *Viś* was also used in both the senses noted above.

[1] *RV*, i, 44, 10, 114, 1, ii, 12, 7

[2] *RV*., i, 100, 10, iii, 33, 11

[3] Pischel and Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, i, xxii, xxiii

[4] *RV*, i, 53, 7, 58, 8, iii, 15, 4, iv, 27, 1, etc

The reason which leads me to the above view is, that in these *mandalas* we also come across such terms as *Gṛhapati*, *Jāspati*, *Pūrpati*, *Vispati*, and *Rājan*. The presence of these terms indicates that of the eight terms that we find used in the sense of a locality only four were recognized administrative units in the society of the period, and these four were the *Gṛha* (with its variants *Gaya*, *Pastya*, and *Harmya*) with its head the *Gṛhapati*, or *Jāspati*, *Pūr* with its head the *Pūrpati*, *Vis* with its head the *Vispati*, and *Rāstra* with its head the *Rājan*.

Out of these four the *Pūr*, being merely a fortification, should not be classed as a local administrative unit. The idea that the *Gṛha*, *Vis*, and *Rāstra* were local administrative units finds further support from the fact that during this period the subdivisions of the Āryan people appear to be into (1) *Gṛha*, (2) *Viś* and (3) *Jana*.

Starting with the well-recognized facts that the Āryans when they entered India consisted of a number of *Jana*, that each *Jana* consisted of a number of *Vis*, and each *Viś* of a number of *Gṛha* (or families), we may suppose that a certain territory came to be under their influence. The next step would be to allot it to the people. The land which a *Jana* got as its share came to be its *Rāstra* and its head the *Rājan*. The territory constituting the *Rāstra* of a *Jana* must have been divided into the same number of allotments as the nūmber of *Visah* within the *Jana* and the head of each *Viś* came to be known as the *Vispati*. Now, when the problem of allotting land to each *Gṛha* (family) within the territory assigned to each *Vis* arose, most probably it was not considered safe for an individual family to settle down by itself in a state of isolation surrounded as the Āryans were by a host of enemies on all sides. Therefore, within the territory assigned to a *Viś*, groups of families with their cattle and other possessions were formed into settlement units and each such unit was called a *Grāma* and the land assigned to it also came to be known as *Grāma*. I take the view that in the beginning *Grāma* was

not a distinct division of the Āryan people. The term came in use to denote a band of warriors, detached from the main body of the Āryan people either for war or for colonization, and later on when colonization became more important, it also came to be used for a group of families, within a *Viś*, that was detailed, or voluntarily decided, to go and settle on a certain piece of land Being a resultant of the peculiar circumstances of the situation it was not a well-recognized administrative unit in the beginning and that is why we do not find any mention of a leader or headman of the *Grāma* in the early Rigvedic hymns The Āryans, so far, were in a continuous state of flux Neither had they had time and leisure enough to develop the new organization in all its details, nor, when we reflect upon the facts of the situation, as they appear to have then existed, was there any necessity for any such development from the very start.

Now arises the very interesting question whether the tribal-cum-local chiefs such as the *Gṛhapati*, the *Viśpati*, and the *Rājan* were hereditary or elective, autocratic or constitutional, and what was the administrative organization within the *Grāma* Some people have tried to see in the *Vidatha*, the *Sabhā*, and the *Samiti* popular assemblies in which election of the king took place, and which acted as a constitutional check on his powers This view, I am afraid, appears to be based on far-fetched interpretations of the Vedic texts, and is by no means justified by the data available in these *mandalas*

The term *Vidatha* is mentioned in a number of places in the early *Rigvedic* texts and onwards Though in some passages the term is used in the sense of a house, yet in most of the passages the sense of a gathering for sacrificial or religious purposes seems to fit in However, none of the passages in which the term occurs, suggest even remotely the connection of *Vidatha* with administrative affairs whether central or local. We can, therefore, safely ignore it in the present connection. Coming to the "*Samiti*" we find it mentioned that "the sage

adorns the depths of air with wisdom , this is the meeting (*Samiti*) where the gods are worshipped "[1] Yet another interesting datum that lends support to the above view is to be found in the fact that we find *Pariṣad* and *Samiti* used as synonyms in the *Upaniṣad* period We find a common story repeated in two *upaniṣads*—(1) the *Chāndogya*, v, 3, 1, and (2) the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, vi, 2, 1 Here we find one Śvetaketu, the son of Aruṇi going to the religious assembly (*Samiti* in the *Chāndogya* and *Pariṣad* in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*) of the Pāñcālas. The idea of Mr Jayaswal that the *Samiti* was " the national assembly of the whole people or *Viśaḥ* ", that the function of the *Samiti* was " electing the *Rājan* ", and that " it could also re-elect a king who had been banished ", and that " they were thus a sovereign body from the constitutional point of view ", does not appear to be correct To begin with, in the entire Vedic literature there is nothing to show that the *Samiti* was the assembly of the whole Āryan people Jayaswal himself does not mention any direct reference in support of this statement of his The line of argument which has led him to the above conclusion is that because we find either the whole Āryan people (*Viśaḥ*) or the *Samiti* electing or re-electing the king therefore the *Samiti* was the national assembly of the whole Āryan people Without questioning the soundness of his line of argument I may be permitted to say that from none of the passages relied upon by Jayaswal in this connection is the alternative character of the *Samiti* to the whole Āryan people even remotely suggested [2] We may now note that we cannot on the strength of *Atharva-veda* iii, 4, 2, maintain that " re-electing a king who had been banished " was another of the functions of the *Samiti* Nor can we say that the *Samiti* was a sovereign body from the texts of *Rigveda*, x, 191, 3, and *Atharva veda*, vi 64 Jayaswal has argued that "this indicates

[1] *RV*, ii, 95, 8 tvesam rūpam kṛnuta uttaraṃ yatsam pṛñcānaḥ sadane gobhiradbhiḥ Kavir budhnam pari marmṛjyate dhiḥ sasādevatātā samitir babhūva.

[2] Jayaswal has based his idea on *RV*, x 173, 1 and *AV*, vi, 87, 1, 88, 3, iii, 4, 2, 4, 5, v, 19, 15

that matters of state (*mantra*) were discussed in the *Samiti* ". Whitney and others have translated the word *mantra* to mean counsel and that is also the opinion of the learned teachers of the Vedic lore in our University.

The opinion of Dr Ganga Natha Jha is that the word *mantra* in the sense of counsel given by a *mantrin* (the adviser of the king) has not been used in the Sanskrit literature till the period of Kauṭilya, that is till the third century B.C., and therefore its interpretation in that sense by Jayaswal is unwarranted.

After the examination of the data available on *Samiti* it appears to me that the *Samiti* was primarily the name of religious gatherings and later on, as the specialization of functions became more and more rigid, it came to be more or less a gathering of those who were well versed in the Vedic philosophy and literature The continuous wars through which the Āryans had to pass while settling down in India brought into prominence the Ksatriyas as the fighting and the ruling class. The same set of conditions appears to have brought into existence the *Samiti*, a specialized body of philosophers and religious teachers, that is, the priestly class And, as by this time the priestly class had come to acquire almost an exclusive hold on the religious lore, and by introducing complexities of ritual had succeeded, remarkably well, in acquiring a predominant hold on the minds of the people, it was but natural for every king and, much more so for an exiled king, seeking restoration, to see that the assemblage of the priestly class, as typified in the *Samiti*, was agreeable to his cause. The same appears to be the case with the people in general. What these hymns indicate is not any regular election by the people, but some sort of general approval of a new king and general acquiescence in the case of a king returning from exile.

Coming to the *Sabhā* we find that it was a gathering "where men of lofty birth sit down together ".[1] It was cherished

[1] *RV.*, vii, 1, 4

with considerable regard.[1] Fire was kept burning in it,[2] and it was primarily a gathering for secular purposes.[3] However, in the first nine *mandalas* the data are so meagre that not much can be said about the functions of the *Sabhā*.

### II BRĀHMANA PERIOD, 1000 B C TO 500 B C

In the literature of this period we get a little more information about the conditions of life in Vedic India. For one thing, we notice a gradual evolution and a gradual development of life in some of its phases. This gradual development, though most clearly visible in religious philosophy and religious ritual, is yet noticeable in the case of things mundane also, such as the rites of a king's consecration and the various rites prescribed for securing headship of a village.

In the earlier portion the idea of the ownership of land does not appear to have come into existence. In the hymns of that period nobody prays for the acquisition of land. What they pray for is cattle, longevity and offspring. Here, however, it is very much in prominence, and the prayers for the acquisition of a village and *mantras* for securing a village are numerous. We may, therefore, conclude that the texts of the Brāhmana Period give us an idea of the stage when the Āryans had settled down in the country and had evolved some sort of a regular government. This hypothesis is suggested by the general development of social organization as noted above, and finds support from the occurrence of a number of officials in the texts of the period. In addition to the eleven *Ratnins*,[4] whose presence we note at the time of the king's consecration we find a few others such as the *Jīvagrabh*,[5] the *Grāma-vādin*,[6] the *Madhyamāsi*,[7] and the

[1] *RV*., i 91 20
[2] *RV*., ii 24 11, ix, 2, 5, vii, 1, 4
[3] *RV*. i 167, 3, vi, 28, 6, viii, 4, 9
[4] *Black yajus* Keith i, 8, 9
[5] *RV*., x 97, 11 12
[6] *Taittiriya Samhitā*, ii, 3, 1, 3, *Maitrāyanī Samhitā*, ii, 2, 1.
[7] *RV*., x 97, 12 *Vājasaneyi Samhitā*, xii, 86 *AV*., iv, 9, 4

*Sthapati*.[1] Some of these, viz. the *Grāmaṇī*, the *Grāma-vādin*, and the *Sthapati* appear to have been distinctly local officers.

The presence of these officials suggests a development in the administrative organization of the country, and the acquisition of a certain degree of stability and order in the government The presence of such local officers as the *Grāmaṇī* and the *Grāma-vādin* indicates that by this time the *Grāma* had come to be definitely recognized as a distinct territorial administrative unit In the literature of this period also we come across the term *Pūrpati*. But the *Pūr* does not appear to have been understood in the sense of a city or town, but still, as in the early Rigvedic period only as a fortified place, with a *Pūrpati* at its head to command the forces within the fortification The reason why I am inclined to take this view is to be found in the absence of the *Pūrpati* in the list of the *Ratnins* The mention of the *Grāmaṇī* and the *Sthapati* amongst the *Ratnins* suggests that they were important functionaries in the administrative organization of those days And the absence of the *Pūrpati* suggests that the realms of those days mostly consisted of villages and that the towns had not come into existence, or at least into administrative prominence Though there is no evidence on the point, yet it may be hazarded that the realm of a king, if it happened to be large enough, was divided into a number of divisions with a *Sthapati* at the head of each division

The question whether the two terms, *Grāmaṇī* and *Grāma-vādin*, stand for one and the same officer or represent two distinct officials is very interesting But from the data available it hardly admits of any conclusive answer According to the *Vedic Index* the term *Grāma-vādin* "apparently means a village judge" And the term *Grāmaṇī* "the headman of a village". The term *Grāma-vādin* occurs only twice[2] in

[1] *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, iv, 5, 2, 2, and *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*, ii, 9, 3. *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*, xvi, 19

[2] *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, ii, 3, 1–2 ff *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*, ii, 2, 1

the entire literature of the period, while the term *Grāmaṇī* occurs very often and this may be made to suggest that the two terms are interchangeable

However, there is one point to be noted in this connection: it is that in both the cases where the *Grāma-vādin* is used, the king is in trouble In the first case (*Taittirīya*, ii, 3, 1-2 ff.) the king is expelled and is trying to win back his kingdom, and in the other (*Maitrāyaṇī*, ii, 2, 1) the king is being besieged This peculiarity is significant and may be made to suggest that the *Grāma-vādin* was the spokesman of the village community and, as it were, the popular representative. His connection with the village *Sabhā* (*Maitrāyaṇī*, ii, 2, 1) also strengthens this view, while the *Grāmaṇī*, whom we never find connected with the *Sabhā* and always prominent at the time of the king's consecration and military affairs along with the *Senānī*, appears to have been an officer of the king On the whole I am inclined to the view that the *Grāma vādin* and the *Grāmaṇī* were two distinct officers. The *Grāma-vādin* was pre-eminently a representative of the people, and as such the leader of the village community He had his *Sabhā* and he decided the questions of *meum* and *teum* in the village with the assistance of the village *Sabhā* Though there is no direct evidence on the point, yet from his position in the village community it may be inferred that the post of the *Grāma vādin* was not in the gift of the king, but depended upon the goodwill of the people Coming to the *Grāmaṇī*, we may say that the idea of Zimmer that the *Grāmaṇī* had military functions only appears to have a grain of truth in it. The idea is suggested by the fact that both *Senā* and *Grāma*, in the beginning, were names of military units, the *Senā* for the army as a whole and the *Grāma* for a detached body of people, presumably sent on a minor expedition But, when the *Grāma* came to be settled down on a piece of land, and the area settled upon by it came to be known as *Grāma*, then certainly the leader of the *Grāma* could hardly be expected to have continued as a military head only Under conditions

of settled life he must have acquired civil functions also. That he had both civil and military functions and was the chief executive officer in the village is suggested by a number of texts.[1] That the *Grāmanī* was appointed from amongst the people (*Viśaḥ* or *Vaiśya*) is clear.[2] The *Grāmaṇī's* connection with the royal person seems to point to his having been a nominee of the king rather than a popularly elected officer.[3] The offering of *Grāmanī* to *Yādra* in the *Purushamedha* definitely points to the unpopularity of this office amongst the people, and may suggest that he was an appointee of the king rather than an elected representative of the people However, the reference to *Manu* as *Grāmaṇī*[4] may suggest that he was not an elective officer or a nominee of the king, but just a hereditary officer who occupied that place because of his patriarchal position in the village community. I, for one, am inclined to take the view that the *Grāmanī* was an officer of the king, and that his office was hereditary. This view not only reconciles the two sets of conflicting references about the *Grāmanī*, but also well accords with our theory of evolution of the term *Grāma*, as discussed in the early Rigvedic Period. The first military leader of the *Grāma* and his immediate descendants had military functions only, and the civil functions were performed by the popular representative of the people—the *Grāma-vādin* and his *Sabhā* But later on, as the power of the king increased, and the internal government became more and more organized and consolidated, the power of the popular representative and the popular assembly, the *Sabhā*, declined, and the power of the king's executive officer—the *Grāmaṇī*—became more and more In this connection it is also interesting to note that the *Grāma-vādin* occurs only in the *Taittirīya* and the

[1] *RV*, x, 107, 5. *Vāj Saṁ*, xv, 15 *Tait. Brāh*, ii, 7, 18, 4. *Śat. Brāh.*, v, 4, 4, 18 *Bṛihad Up*, iv, 3, 37–8

[2] *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā*, viii, 4, xv, 4 *Maitrāyanī Saṁhitā*, i, 6, 5. *Tait. Brāh.*, i, 1, 4, 8, 7, 3, 4 *Śat Brāh*, v, 3, 1, 5

[3] *Cambridge Hist*, vol i, p. 131

[4] *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā*, viii, 4 *Taitt Brāh.*, i, 1, 4, 8

*Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitās*, and not at all in the *Atharva-veda*, the tenth *mandala* of the *Ṛigveda* and the *Brāhmanas*, etc., all of which are of later date than the *Taittirīya* and the *Maitrāyaṇī*. In the later literature of the period the occurrence of the *Sabhā* in connection with villages is also absent. This perhaps indicates that in the early part of our period the democratic sense of the tribal organization was still somewhat strong and the king and his officers had not come to acquire a very dominant position. And that later on, as the power of the king increased and as the system of government became more and more consolidated, the village *Sabhā* with its leader and spokesman, the *Grāma-vādin*, receded into the background and the position of the king's executive officer the *Grāmaṇī*, became more and more important in the village.

THE SABHĀ

Paucity of data in the early *mandalas* of the *Rigveda* prevented us from saying much about the *Sabhā*. But in the literature of the period under consideration we get, though by no means full and convincing, yet more detailed and comprehensive data about the *Sabhā*. To begin with, the data of this period suggest the idea that the term *Sabhā* also came to denote a meeting-place. In a number of passages the word *Sabhā* means nothing but a hall or a place of meeting.[1] Some passages would indeed suggest that it meant a meeting-room, something like a modern drawing-room in a private house.[2] There are other passages which indicate that each village had a common meeting-place, something like our modern *Caupāl*, *Cāvdī* or *choultry*.[3] Some passages also indicate that the king had his *Sabhā*.[4] In this connection it is

[1] *RV.* x, 34, 6; *Taittirīya Sam.* iii, 4, 8, 6; *Maitrāyaṇī Sam.*, i, 6, 11; iv, 7, 4; *Taittirīya Brāh.*, i, 2, 1, 26; i, 1, 10, 3; iii, 4, 16, 1; *Kauṣītaki Brāh.* vii, 9.

[2] *Taittirīya Sam.* iii, 4, 8, 6; *Taittirīya Brāh.*, i, 1, 10, 3; *Chāndogya Up.*, viii, 14.

[3] *Maitrāyaṇī Sam.* i, 6, 11.

[4] *Śatapatha Brāh.* iii, 3, 4, 14; *Chāndogya Up.*, v, 3, 6.

not clear whether the *Sabhā* stands for that room in the king's house where he used to receive visitors or for a group of the king's courtiers and officials

However, recalling to our minds the sense in which the term *mantra* was used during this period, we may say that the *Sabhā* in connection with the king stands for the room in which he used to receive visitors

The data of this period further support the idea that the *Sabhā* was also the name of a gathering where we find people sometimes gambling,[1] sometimes merry-making, and sometimes busy in debates and discussions on serious matters of socio-political importance[2] More than this, we find some terms and details which suggest that in villages the *Sabhā* was more or less a well-recognized and respected institution[3] with a definite constitution and functions The presence of terms like *Sabhāpati*[4] and *Sabhāsad*,[5] suggests that the *Sabhā* in its regularly constituted aspect of a public body, had its president, the *Sabhāpati*, and its members, the *Sabhāsads* This idea finds further support from the occurrence of the term *Sabheya*, which means fit for the *Sabhā*, that is, fit to become a *Sabhāsad* That the term *Sabheya* stands for a person or class of persons distinct from *Sabhāsads* is suggested by one passage in the *Taittirīya Brāhmana*[6] Whether this distinction between the two terms could suggest that, while a number of people may have been considered to have the necessary qualification for being considered *Sabheya* (that is, fit to become members of the *Sabhā*), only a few could actually become *Sabhāsads*, or members of the *Sabhā*, is difficult to

[1] *RV*, x, 34, 6 *Maitrāyanī Sam*, i, 6, 11, *AV*, v, 31, 6, xii, 3, 46, *Taittirīya Brāh*, iii, 4, 16, 1

[2] *RV*, x, 71, 10, *Taittirīya Sam*, i, 8, 3, 1, iv, 5, 3, 2, *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁ*, ii, 2, 1, *AV*., vii, 12, 1, xii, 1, 56, xv, 9, 2, 3, v, 31, 6, etc *Taittirīya Brāh*., i, 1, 10, 6

[3] *Taittirīya Sam*., iv, 5, 3, 2

[4] *Taittirīya Sam*, iv, 5, 3, 2 *Kāṭhaka Sam*, xvii, 13, etc *Vāj Saṁ*, xvi, 24

[5] *Mait. Sam*., i, 6, 11, *AV*, iii, 29, 1, vii, 12, 2, *Taittirīya Brāh*., viii, 21, 14; *Kāṭhaka Sam*, viii, 7

[6] *Taittirīya Brāh*, i, 2, 1, 26

say. The fact that some people were particularly considered fit to go to the *Sabhā*,[1] and for others it was not considered proper to go to the *Sabhā*[2] (women were not thought fit to go to the *Sabhā*) also lends support to the idea that for being considered a fit person to be a member of the *Sabhā* certain qualifications were insisted upon The occurrence of a passage in the *Atharva veda* which lays down a rite for becoming *Sabheya* also supports the above point of view[3]

That one of the functions of the *Sabhā* was adjudication of suits is indicated by (1) the connection of the village *Sabhā* with the *Grāma vādin*—the village judge,[4] and (2) the occurrence of the term *Sabhācara*[5] According to the *Vedic Index*, ' as he (the *Grāma vādin*) is dedicated to *Dharma* (justice), it is difficult not to see in him a member of the *Sabhā* as a law court perhaps as one of those who sit to decide cases, there is nothing to show whether the whole *Sabhā* did so or only a chosen body The special use of *Sabhācara* suggests the latter alternative '[6]

Yet another interesting term which occurs in the literature of this period is *Sabhāvin*, which according to Sāyaṇa means the keeper of a gambling hall The occurrence of this term is significant, as it completes the working and administrative organization of the *Sabhā* in its threefold aspect As a general administrative body of the village, it had its *Sabhāsads* and its president the *Sabhāpati*, as a law court it had, probably a few selected *Sabhāsads* out of the whole body of the *Sabhāsads* of the *Sabhā* of a village, its *Sabhācaras*, most probably presided over by the *Grāma-vādin*, and, in its aspect as a common village hall, where people met for gambling and merry-making, it had its social secretary or some such person in the *Sabhāvin*

[1] *Vājasaneyi Sam* xxii 22 etc
[2] *Maitrāyaṇī Sam* iv, 7, 4 *Kauṣītaki Brāh*, vii, 9
[3] AV., viii 10 5 6
[4] *Maitrāyaṇī Sam* ii, 2 1
[5] *Vāj Sam*, xxx 6 *Tait Brāh* iii, 4, 2, 1
[6] *Taittirīya Brāh*, iii 4 16, 1

# The Date of the 11th Paripāḍal

BY K G ŚANKAR

THE *Paripāḍal*, which belongs to the *Eṭṭuttogai* collection, is of unique interest in that it enables us to fix the Saṅgham age accurately, by a careful consideration of its astronomical data The data are contained in the following opening lines of the 11th *Paripāḍal* of Nallanduvanār.—

*virikadir madiyamoḍu viyal viśumbu punarppa*
*veriśaḍaiyeḷilvēlan talaiyenak kīḻirundu*
*teruvidaippadutta mūnṟonpadiṟṟiruḳḳaiyu*
*luruḳelu vellivandēṟṟiyal śēra*
*varudaiyaip paḍimagan vāyppap porudēri*
*pundi mitunam porundap pular vidiya*
*langiyuyar niṟpa vantanan panguvi*
*nillattuṇaikkuppāleyda viṟaiyaman*
*villiṟkadai makaramēvap pāmbollai*
*madiyamaṟaiya varunālil vāynda*
*podiyin munivan puraivaraiḳḳīṟi*
*mitunamadaiya virikadir vēni*
*ledirvaravu māriyiyaikena vivvāṟṟāṟ*
*puraikeḻu śaiyam polimalaitāla*

In this passage the actual positions of the leading planets and stars are given as observed at daybreak on a day at the beginning of a rainy season The first three lines inform us that the heavens were divided into three *vīthis*, named after the *rāśis* indicated by *eri* (Krttikā, whose God is Agni), *śaḍai* (Ārdrā, the asterism of Śiva), and *vēlam* (Rēvatī or Bharaṇī, whose *yōni* is the elephant). Parimēlaḻagar, commenting on them, says that by Kṛttikā is meant Ṛṣabha, which includes ¾ Kṛttikā segment. But this assumes without proof that Nallanduvanār used a Rēvatyādi zodiac, and it is besides strange that he should have indicated a *rāśi* by a *nakṣatra* segment, part of which was in another *rāśi* (Mēṣa).

We must, therefore, infer that Krttikā, Ārdrā, and Rēvatī or Bharaṇī are the asterisms so named, and not the segments, and that they were in Ṛsabha (30° to 60°), Mithuna (60° to 90°) and Mēṣa (0° to 30°) respectively. The longitudes of these asterisms are given in several *siddhāntas*, but the only dated *siddhānta* is the *Brahma-Siddhānta* of Śaka 550 = 628 A.C. According to it, the polar longitudes of Rēvatī, Bharaṇī, Krttika, and Ārdrā are 0°, 20°, 37° 28′, and 67° respectively. The *yogatārā* of Rēvatī is identified with ζ Piscium, whose longitude in 1690 A.C. was, according to Flamsteed's *Catalogus Brittanicus*, 15° 32′. If therefore by *vēlam* we mean Rēvatī, it could not have been in Mēsa before 628 A.C., and the *Paripādal* would have to be dated then or thereafter only. But this is not necessary, as by *vēlam* Bharanī may have been meant. The *yogatārā* of Bharanī is identified with 35 Arietis (42° 36′ in 1690 A.C.), or with 41 Arietis (43° 52′ in 1690 A.C.). The true longitude of Bharanī, corresponding to its polar longitude of 20° is 24° 41′, and its precession in 1,062 years (from 628 A.C. to 1690 A.C.) is therefore 17° 55′ or 19° 11′. Since these give us the rate of sidereal precession as 1° in every 59¼ or 55¼ years, of which the former accords more closely with the true rate of 1° in 61 years, as determined by Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, we have to identify Bharaṇī with 35 Arietis only. Accepting this identification, we may infer that Bharanī could not have been in Mēsa before 24° 41′ × 59¼ − 627 = 835 B.C. or after (30° − 24° 41′) × 59¼ + 628 = 943 A.C. This period of 1,777 years (835 B.C. to 943 A.C.) is too wide for our purpose. But Krttikā and Ārdrā will help us to define the limits more closely. The *yogatārā* of Krttika is identified with Alcyone (55° 40′ in 1690 A.C.), and its true longitude is 38° 58′. Its precession in 1,062 years is therefore 16° 42′, yielding a rate of 1° in 63⅝ years, and it could not have been in Ṛsabha before 628 − 8° 58′ × 63⅝ = 58 A.C. The *yogatārā* of Ārdrā is usually identified with α Orionis (84° 25′ in 1690 A.C.) and its true longitude is 65° 5′. Its precession in 1,062 years is therefore 19° 20′,

yielding a rate of 1° in 55 years. But this rate is too wide of the true rate (1° in 61 years), and the latitude of ∝ Orionis is 16° 4′ S., while the polar latitude of Ārdrā is given as 11° S. The *yogatārā* of Ārdrā may therefore be more correctly identified with 135 Tauri of 9° 10′ S. latitude, and true longitude of 83° 20′ in 1690 A C Its precession in 1,062 years would be 18° 15′, yielding a more probable rate of 1° in 58⅛ years, and it could not have been in Mithuna before 628 – 5° 5′ × 58⅛ = 332 A C Even calculating at the true rate of 1° in 61 years, Ārdrā could not have been in Mithuna before 628 – 5° 5′ × 61 = 318 A C Putting together the inferences from the positions of Rēvatī or Bharaṇī, Krttikā and Ārdrā in Mēsa, Ṛṣabha, and Mithuna respectively, we may conclude that *c* 300 A C is the earlier limit for the date of the 11th *Paripādal* On the other hand, it is certain that *c* 700 A C is the later limit, as according to the Cinnamanūr plates the Sangham was founded and the victory at Talaiālaṅgānam won by ancestors of Māravarman Arikēsari The *Paripādal* must therefore be dated between *c* 300 and *c* 700 A C It may also be pointed out that according to the *Paripādal* the *naksatras* were not Krttikādi, as in that case Rēvatī or Bharanī should be in Mīna, not Mēsa

We are then told that Venus was in Ṛsabha (30° to 60°), Mars in Mēsa (0° to 30°), and Mercury in Mithuna (60° to 90°). Then we have the phrase *angi uyar nirpa* Parimēlalagar says this means that Krttikā was in the zenith. If this is right, the Sun was in 90° + 39° = 129°, and Venus and Mercury, whose maximum distances from the Sun are 48° and 26°, cannot have longitudes less than 81° and 103°, which are at least 21° and 13° beyond the required positions. *Uyar* cannot therefore mean "Zenith", but only "visibly high up". Again, *angi* may mean either Krttikā (the asterism of Agni) or the asterism Agni, identified with β Tauri, whose longitude in 1690 A C was 78° 14′. Jupiter is said to be in Mīna (330° to 360°) The position of Saturn is indicated by the words *villiṟ kadai makara mēva* Parimēlaḷagar takes it

to mean that Saturn was in Makara (270° to 300°). But in that case, the mention of *vil* (Dhanu) has no significance It will be noticed that Mars, Venus, Mercury, and Jupiter are all in what are astrologically known as *svaksētras* (own houses), and it is possible that Saturn was really in Dhanu, but Nallanduvanār was influenced by the astrological notion of planets in *svaksētra* indicating heavy showers to link Dhanu with Makara in placing Saturn If so, we have to consider the possibility of Saturn being in Dhanu (240° to 270°), especially as Nallanduvanār was acquainted with the *svaksētras* of planets (*panguvin illattunai*) and the theory of *vīthīs* Then we have the words *pāmbollai madiya maraiya varunālil* They naturally mean that a lunar eclipse was shortly expected though it is possible to take them to mean that the moon set in the region of Āślēsa (the asterism of Sarpa) Agastya (Canopus) is then said to be in Mithuna (60° to 90°), but there is no reference here to its heliacal rising, which in Varāha mihira s time (*c* 500 A C ) happened when the Sun was in 143 The longitude of Canopus in 1690 A C was 100° 46′, and so in *c* 300 A C its longitude was 100° 46′ $- \frac{(1690 - 300)}{61} = 78$

Since Agastya (at least 78 ) is said to have been above the horizon the Sun s longitude cannot be less than 78° Nor can it be more than 108 as Venus whose maximum distance from the Sun is 48 was between 30° and 60°. The Sun's longitude was therefore between 78° and 108°, and the solar day must have been between the 81st and the 111th Between the 81st and 111th solar days, the mean longitudes of the major planets, corresponding to their geocentric ones, Saturn (240 to 300 ), Jupiter (330 to 0 ), and Mars (0° to 30°), are Saturn (213 to 306 ) Jupiter (321° to 348°), and Mars (314 to 351 ) Between these same solar days in 1 B C their mean longitudes were Saturn (73° to 74°), Jupiter (170° to 172°), and Mars (297° to 313°) The required increases in their mean longitudes are therefore Saturn (169° to 233°),

**Jupiter (149° to 178°), and Mars (1° to 54°). Between 300 and 700 A.C., these increases are found only in 397 A.C. and 634 A.C. The increases in 397 A.C. are Saturn 171°, Jupiter 168°, and Mars 28°,** and in 634 A.C. the increases are **Saturn** 187°, Jupiter 161°, and Mars 31° But in 397 A C. there was no lunar eclipse between the 81st and 111th solar day, while in 634 A C. there was a lunar eclipse on Āshāḍha Paurṇamī, 16th June (89th solar day), the Paurṇamī *tithi* ending at ·94 of the day At daybreak on that day the planets were all in their required positions, Saturn 257°, Jupiter 341°, Mars 18°, Venus 43°, and Mercury 69°. Since 634 A.C. is only six years after Brahmagupta, the longitude of Kṛttikā was then 39° and, the Sun being then in 86°, the asterism, if it is the *angi* of the text, was 47° above the horizon. If, on the other hand, the asterism was Agni, its longitude was then $78° 14' - \frac{(1690-634)}{61} = 61°$, and it was 25° above the horizon The longitude of Agastya in that year was $100° 46' - \frac{(1690-634)}{61} = 83°$, i e it was in Mithuna, and it is well known that the monsoon generally begins about the 16th June. The 16th June, 634 A C, is therefore the only date that completely satisfies the astronomical data of the *Paripādal*, and the credit for discovering it is due to Mr Svāmikaṇṇu Piḷḷai, though his demonstration left much to be desired. It will be noticed that this date for the *Paripāḍal* is in perfect agreement with the date for the Sangham age (seventh century A C) determined by me on other grounds, in my paper on "The Date of Māṇikyavācaka" (*Journal of the Mythic Society*, vol 22, pp 54–5).

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CALCUTTA
*1st November*, 1931.

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# The Chandonukramaṇī of the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā

BY RAGHU VIRA

THE Chandonukramaṇī forms a part of the Vārāha-pariśiṣṭas * As is evident from the text given hereunder, it is of immense importance. This little booklet is unknown from any other source Few scholars know of its existence The original MS is in the Baroda library, and was discovered by my friend Mr R A Sastry.

As there is only one MS, and that also bristles with absurd readings, it was a fairly difficult task to reconstruct the correct text and find out the original meaning of the author I have not always succeeded in my efforts, and have to leave some phrases doubtful

The text of the first section is as follows —

*(a) General Introduction*

गोमहः सुमहाः प्राचपच्छन्दोऽनुक्रमसञ्चयाम ।
चत्त्वयत्वं महार्थानाऽ बह्वृचाऽ वेदविस्तरम्[1] ॥ [१॥]

वक्ष्यते वेदविज्ञानऽ यच्चियं च हितं च यत् ।
आनुपूर्व्ये प्रमाणं च वैकृतं च निबोधत ॥ [२॥]

मन्त्रब्राह्मणमाम्नाय.[2] कल्पयितत् चयऽ शृणु ।
उच्चमानं पृथक्त्वेन मिश्रऽ ह्येतद्दिहो क्षितम् ॥ [३॥]

* Of the Vārāhas we know a Śrautasūtra, a Gṛhyasūtra, and two Gṛhya-paddhatis Of these the Gṛhya with extracts from the Paddhatis has been edited by me for the Panjab University Oriental Series, and is to come out shortly The Śrauta and the Pariśiṣṭas are also being critically edited by me with the collaboration of Professor W Caland of Utrecht

[1] The MS चत्त्वयंचां महार्थांना बह्वृचां वदविस्तरं. Note that there is no verb in the verse For the last quarter cf यच्चां यः प्रविभागश्च. सोऽध्वर्युः क्रत्न उच्यते (sec 6, verse 21)

[2] The MS. मन्त्रब्राह्मणमम्नाचाय.

आथर्वणे द्वया मन्त्रा अथर्वैव यजूंषि च ।
तयोरपि च नानात्वं वक्ष्याम्यविज्ञातानि (?) च ॥ [४ ॥]
मन्त्रस्य लक्षणं विद्याद् यः प्रयुञ्जीत कर्मणि ।
परिपाटिं च वक्ष्यामि आम्नायस्य विशुद्धये ॥ [५ ॥]
यः कश्चित् पादवान् मन्त्रो युक्तश्चाक्षरसम्पदा ।
विनिर्युक्तावसानश्च तामृचं परिकल्पयेत् ॥ [६ ॥]
यश्चाप्यक्षरवैर्युक्तो न च पादोऽवरैर्वृतः ।
अनिर्युक्तावसानश्च तद्यजुः परिकीर्तितम् ॥ [७ ॥]

(*b*) *The Mantrānuvākas*

स्थानानि नव मन्त्राणामादितस्त्रीणि खण्डशः[1] ।
उत्तरः कौकिलीयाख्याः प्रैषाः च - - णानि च ॥ [८ ॥]
षट् बहिरनुवाकानां समाहार्यास्ततस्ततः[2] ।
अनुवाकैकदेशास्थ कल्पब्राह्मण उज्झिताम्[3] ॥ [९ ॥]
मन्त्रानुवाकाश्चत्वार[4] चतुष्पादोऽपरस्य च[5] ।
द्वौ परस्य[6] परश्चैव[7] चित्ति. स्रुगिति चापरौ[8] ॥ [१० ॥]

[1] The MS खण्डम. The sense of the verse is There are nine 'places' for the mantras, the first three books (known to us as the *prathama-kānda*, *dvitīya kānda* or *madhyama-kānda*, and *trtīya kānda* or *upari kānda*), and the last six *prapāthakas* of the supplementary fourth book उत्तर in the text stands for *pravargya*, IV, 9, कौकिलीयाख्या for IV, 10 11 12, प्रैषाः for IV, 13, and the last word (to be reconstructed to षट् पाश्चानि ?) for IV, 14

[2] ततस्तत is not clear The number of sections in the last six *prapāthakas* of Schroeder's edition of *Maitrāyanī Samhitā* is 73 See note on VI, 3

[3] The *mantrānuvākas* specifically enumerated in the following three verses are those which are interspersed by *kalpa-* and *brāhmana anuvākas* viz I 4, 1 - II, 6, 13 The rest form continuous wholes and hence the author of the *Ch* did not deem it necessary to enumerate them here

[4] I, 4, 1 4 [5] I, 5 1-4 [6] I, 6, 1-2
[7] I, 7, 1 [8] I, 9, 1-2

अनुवाकास्त्रयो ऽग्निचिनये वेराद्यः स्मृताः[1] ।
चत्वारो वाजपेयाख्या[2] अन्त्यः पञ्चम उत्तरः[3] ॥ [११ ॥]
उत्तरास्त्विष्टिषु ख्याता[4] अनुवाकाश्च षोडश[5] ।
राजसूये समाख्याताः प्राग्वत् सप्तमादयः[6] ॥ [१२ ॥]
पञ्चाग्ने न - यशारीरास्त्वाहिस्त्वेकाचिर् प्रतिः[7] ।
(= 276)
शेषा. षट्षष्टिराख्याता द्वे शते सद्वयेन च ॥ [१३ ॥]
(= 336)
द्वे तु षष्टिशते सर्वमनुवाकाश्च षोडश ।[8]

[1] I, 10, 2–4

[2] I, 11, 1–4

[3] I, 11, 10 (the last section of *Vāj*) उत्तरः could have better been replaced by उत्तमः

[4] In *Kāmyā iṣṭayah* there are four mantra sections. II, 2, 6; 3, 4 8, 4, 7

[5] Sixteen is the total number of the five sections of *Vājapeya*, four of the *Kāmyā iṣṭayah*, and seven of *Rājasūya* mentioned in the next line

[6] II, 6, 7–13

[7] Thus the MS The entire line is unintelligible The second hemistich is equally difficult

[8] A complete list of *mantrānuvākas* is given here for ready reference and verification —

I, 1, 1–13, *darśa-pūrnamāsau*
2, 1–18, *adhvaraḥ*
3, 1–39, *grahāh*
4, 1–4, *yajamāna-brāhmanam*
5, 1–4, *agny-upasthānam*
6, 1–2, *ādhānam*
7, 1, *punar-ādhānam*
9, 1–2, *catur-hotārah*
10, 2–4, *cātur-māsyāni*
11, 1–4 10, *vājapeyaḥ*

II, 2, 6, *kāmyā iṣṭayah*
3, 4 8
4, 7
6, 7–13, *rājasūyaḥ*

II, 7, 1–20, *agni-citiḥ.*
8, 1–14
9, 1–10
10, 1–6

यथा इषिश्रुद्दित्यादि[1] कस्यग्राह्मण उक्तितान् ॥ [१४ ॥]
तेषां मित्रा[2]वसानेषु यजुष्टमुपकल्पयेत् ।
प्रेयमगादित्यृचा[3] तु ब्राह्मणसं ब्रतेति (?) च ॥ [१५ ॥]

*(c) The Yajur-anuvākas*

इषे[4] वेदाय[5] देवानां[6] वर्ष[7]वृद्धमियं[8] विभूः[9] ।
मित्राभाः स देवश्रुत[10] सं यज्ञपतिराशिषा[11] ॥ [१६ ॥]
अग्निर्यजुर्भिः[12] सवित्तः सुर्ग[13]मिरेकाचरा[14]मपि ।
सप्तमो राजसूयस्य[15] अयचाष्टादशादय.[16] ॥ [१७ ॥]
प्रमार्ग[17]माशु.[18] ऋताः षष्टीसं[19]स्कारसाष्टमादय.[20] ।

| | |
|---|---|
| II, 11, 1 6 | II, 13, 1–23 |
| 12, 1-6 | |
| III, 11, 1 12, *sautrāmani* | |
| 12, 1 21, *asva medhah* Twenty-one is the number of sections according to Schroeder s edition See note 1 on verse 26 | |
| 13, 1-20 | III, 15, 1–11 |
| 14, 1 21 | 16, 1–5 |
| IV 9, 1 27, *pravargyah* | IV, 12, 1–6 |
| 10, 1 6, *yājyānuvākyāh* | 13, 1–10 |
| 11, 1 6 | 14, 1–18 |

The total amounts to 350 *mantrānuvākas* in Schroeder's edition, while according to *Ch* it is only 336

[1] I, 4, 10 (p 58, ll 10 and 11), IV, 1, 6 (p 8, l 8) The word यथा is not to be understood

[2] The MS तेषां मित्रा मित्रा°

[3] The MS प्रेयमगादि ऋचानां I, 1, 2, IV, 1, 2 प्रेयमगादित्यृचा is not a satisfactory emendation, for the fifth syllable is long

[4] I 1 1 [5] I, 1, 4 [6] I, 1, 5

[7] I, 1, 7 [8] I 2, 4 [9] I, 2, 12

[10] I, 3, 2 [11] I, 4, 2 [12] I, 9, 2

[13] I, 9 1 [14] I, 11, 10 [15] II, 6, 7

[16] II, 7, 18 20 [17] II, 8, 2 [18] II, 8, 4

[19] The MS ऋत षष्टीसं Perhaps षष्टी. signifies here three, for the next two sections are also *yajurmaya anuvākas*

[20] II, 8, 8–11

अथाथ प्रथमा षड्वाचाम (?) राष्ट्रभृतस्त्विति[1] ॥ [१८ ॥]
तथो योनिरसि[2] प्राणं[3] वृषा त्वा[4] द्वादशं[5] स्त्रव:[6] ।
मा छन्दो ऽष्टौ[7] द्वितीयस्य सौत्रामण्यां सपञ्चम:[8] ॥ [१९ ॥]
चतुर्दश द्वितीयाया:[9] शरीरा चयिकेति च[10] ।
प्राणस्त्वाद् द्वौ द्वितीयस्य चय: प्रैषेषु याजुषा:[11] ॥ [२० ॥]
(= 79)
अशीतिरनुवाकानामेकोना येषु नार्चिकम् ।
तपने (?) परिसंख्याता: कृत्स्ना: सर्वे यजुर्मया:[12] ॥ [२१ ॥]

### (d) The *Ṛg-anuvākas*

ऋग्यास्तु प्रवक्ष्यामि यथावदनुपूर्वश: ।
येषु स्थानेषु यावन्त: संख्यया[13] परिकीर्तिता: ॥ [२२ ॥]
प्रथमस्याग्न्युपस्थाने[14] द्वितीयो वाजपेयिक:[15] ।
अयो पञ्चममाप्नोति[16] तत ऊर्ध्वं त्रयोदश:[17] ॥ [२३ ॥]

[1] The reference is to II, 8, 13 (the last section but one of the eighth *prapāthaka*), II, 9, 3–8, II, 11, 1–6, and II, 12, 2 (*rāṣṭrabhṛtaḥ*)

[2] II, 13, 2 [3] II, 13, 3

[4] II, 13, 4 [5] II, 13, 12

[6] चय: refers back to II, 13, 3 4 12 [7] II, 13, 14–21.

[8] "The second and the fifth in *Sautrāmaṇī*," III, 11, 2 5

[9] III, 12, 2–15

[10] Thus the MS Cf verse 13 The reference is to III, 13, 2–20 (?)

[11] Among the *praiṣas* there are three *yājuṣa* sections, the two preceding the last (IV, 13, 8–9), and the second one (IV, 13, 2).

[12] The *yājuṣa* sections, not containing any *ṛks*, are

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| I, 1, 1 4 5 7 | I, 3, 2 | I, 9, 1 2 |
| 2, 4 12 | 4, 2 | 11, 10 |
| II, 6, 7 | II, 11, 1–6. | |
| 7, 18–20 | 12, 2 | |
| 8, 2 4–6 8–11 13 | 13, 2–4 12 14–21 | |
| 9, 3–8. | | |
| III, 11, 2. 5. | III, 13, 2–20 | III, 15, 1–11. |
| 12, 2–15 | 14, 1–21 | |
| IV, 9, 5 8–10 13–26 | IV, 13, 2 8. 9. | |

Our total is 137, as against that of the *Ch* 79.

[13] The MS यावन्त: सख्यया:.

[14] I, 5, 1. [15] I, 11, 2. [16] II, 7, 5. [17] II, 7, 13.

परश्चाग्नी[1] चद्राचा[2] द्वितीयादय आर्चिकाः[3] ।
चित्रे[4] चेनादयः[5] स्थाने सप्तमे पञ्चमादयः[6] ॥ [२४ ॥]
षष्ठोद्रग्रसमाप्त्या द्वौ[7] सौषामन्नाऽ य आदितः[8] ।
तृतीयस्तथ षष्ठ नवमो योत्तमोत्तमौ (?)[9] ॥ [२५ ॥]
चित्रः[10] परश्च पञ्चाशे सप्तैते महति क्रतौ[11] ।
सर्वथाभ्यानुवाकास्तु[12] तृतीयो ऽथोत्तमोत्तमा.(?)॥[२६॥]
द्विविभायतृतीये तु षष्ठं[13] च - - - चानि (?)[14] ।
षट् सप्तत्यामृषा भुवामभ्यदेतावैव ह्यार्चिकाः(?)[15] ॥[२७॥]

[1] II, 7, 14  [2] II, 9, 1-2  [3] II, 10, 2–6

[4] II, 12, 1  [5] II, 12, 4–6

[6] II, 13, 5-11 स्थाने means the *prapāthaka* The *Kāthaka Samhitā* designates its chapters as *sthanakas*

[7] II, 13, 22 23  [8] III, 11, 1

[9] III, 11, 3 6 9 10 (?) 11 12

[10] The MS चित्र In Schroeder's *Mait S* text the *ārcika* sections are III 12, 18 21, 13, 1 It is very probable that the eighteenth section of Schroeder's edition was a part of either the preceding or the following section, and hence not an *ārcika* section Thus the last section of the third book would be the twentieth, and पर. would refer to III, 13, 1

[11] For महति the MS has मह्दिति महति क्रतौ = *aśvamedha* The five *ārcika* sections at the end are III, 16, 1-5 The seven *anuvākas* are III 12, 20, 13, 1, 16, 1 5

[12] IV, 10 12  [13] IV, 13, 1 3 6  [14] IV, 14, 1–18

[15] Thus the MS This line is very corrupt, though the sense is fairly clear the number of pure *ārcika anuvākas* is 76 Here is my own list –

| | |
|---|---|
| I, 5, 1 | I, 11 2 |
| II, 7, 5 13 14 | II 12 1 4–6 |
| 9 1 2 | 13, 5-11 22 23 |
| 10, 2 6 | |
| III, 11 1 3 6 9 12 | III, 13, 1 |
| 12, 18 21 | 16, 1–5 |
| IV, 10, 1-2 4-6 | IV, 13, 1 3, 6 |
| 11 1-6 | 14, 1–18 |
| 12, 1-6 | |

### (e) *Mixed Ṛg- and Yajur-anuvākas*

उद्धृतेष्वनुवाकेषु याजुषेष्वार्चिकेषु च ।
एकविंशं शतं शिष्टमुभयं यत्र दृश्यते [1] ॥ [२८ ॥]

### (f) *The Yājuṣa Verses*

तस्मिन् यजूंषि वक्ष्यामि लक्षणेन निबोधत ।
विंशत् षडक्षरादूर्ध्वं यत् किञ्चिद् यजुरेव तत् ॥ [२९ ॥]
प्रमाणादूर्ध्वमेतस्माद् यथा सप्तदशर्त्विजः [2] ।
अल्पाल्प [3] पादाय तस्याः (?) पादवृत्तेषु दृश्यते ॥ [३० ॥]
याच्च तद् यदतो ऽल्पीयं [4] यथा देवश्रुताविति [5] ।
उपयामगृहीतो ऽसि [6] यजुष्टेन च सम्मितम ॥ [३१ ॥]
क्वचि विद्यादसंयुक्तं [7] स्वाहाकारो यजुः स्मृतः ।
स्वाहाकारस्तु तद वाच्यो यस्त्वृत्वोतवानेव सः(?)॥ [३२ ॥]
उक्तं यजुर्लक्षणः शिष्टमेकविंशं शते तथा ।
मैत्रानुवाकिको ह्येष विभागस्त्वमितो बुधैः ॥ [३३ ॥]
इति छन्दोऽनुक्रमण्यां प्रथमं खण्डम् ॥

[1] "The *yājuṣa* and *ārcika anuvākas* being deducted, the remaining *anuvākas*, in which both the *ṛks* and *yajus* are found, are 121" Here the total number of *anuvākas* assumed is 276, instead of 336 of verse 14

[2] ?

[3] The MS अस्योप.

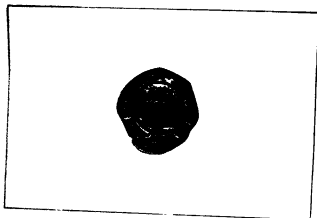
[4] Thus the MS

[5] I, 2, 9

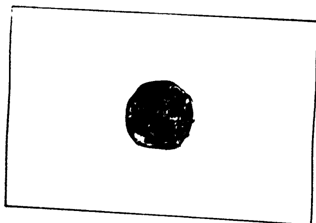
[6] I, 3, 5 seq

[7] The MS °युक्त.

Obverse



Reverse



COIN OF ABU MUSLIM

*To face p.*

# A Coin of Abu Muslim

By R Guest

(PLATE IV)

THE copper coin (*fals*) shown in the plate was unearthed recently during work for irrigation on the lesser Zâb Mr W Allard, Director of Irrigation in 'Irâq, has kindly allowed it to be photographed for publication The inscriptions on the coin are —

*Obverse*

*Centre* لا اله الا الله وحده

*Border* قل لا اسئلكم عليه احراً الا المودة فى القربى

Creed

Say, I ask you not for any reward on account of of these good tidings but that you should love my relations (*Qur ân*, 42, 19)

*Reverse*

*Centre* محمد رسول الله

*Border* سم الله الرحمن الرحيم مما امر به ابو مسلم امير
آل محمد سنة احدى وثلثين ومئة

Creed

By order of Abû Muslim, the amîr of the family of Muhammad. Year 131

Abû Muslim, as will be remembered, brought the Abbasid dynasty to the throne by long sustained effort, not by a sudden stroke The first Abbasid Khalif did not become acknowledged until more than two years after Abû Muslim raised the Abbasid standard in Khurâsân Abû Muslim took Merv, then the capital of the province, in 130 (February, 748), and thenceforward that town doubtless remained his usual place of residence Following Tabarî, one finds him ruling there in 132 But early in 131 (c September, 748) after his troops under Qaḥṭaba had entered Raiy, Abû Muslim moved westward from Merv to

Nîsâbûr, where he would have been more closely in touch with his general. During the year, Qaḥṭaba's armies advanced with continual success through Persia, bearing down the resistance of the opposing Umaiyad forces, and before the end of it were passing into Mesopotamia, the chief incidents marking the end of the contest, the occupation of Kûfa by the partisans of the Abbasids (August, 749), the accession of the first Abbasid Khalif (November, 749), and the rout of the last Umaiyad Khalif Marwân on the greater Zâb (January, 750), all falling in the year 132. Accordingly it is probable that the coin was struck either at Merv or at Nisâbûr. The coin is not unique. Zambaur in his *Contributions* (i, 7), mentions another apparently identical specimen. Coins bearing the name of Abû Muslim seem, however, to be very rare.

The text from the *Qur'ân* on the border of the obverse, exhorting believers to love the relations of the Prophet, was an excellent watchword. It may be noted that the first Abbasid Khalif introduced it in his inaugural address (Ṭabarî, 3, 29). Abû Muslim does not seem to have been the first to employ this text on a coin. It seems probable that it was adopted by the Alyid 'Abdallah ibn Mu'âwiya in 127.

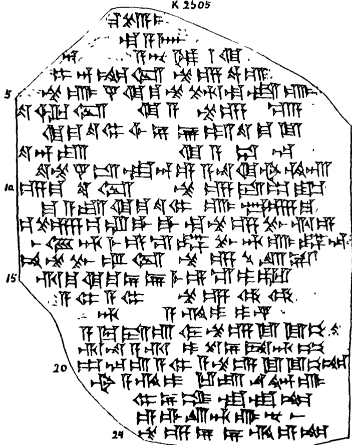
Ṭabarî records that Abû Muslim used the title *amîr* of the family of Muhammad (3, 60) just as Abû Salama, the protagonist of the cause in Kûfa, was styled the vizier of the family of Muḥammad. The individual member of the family at the head of the movement when it started was in the power of Marwân, so he could not be named. The titles adopted, moreover, had the advantage of appealing to the followers of the house of Ali as well as to the supporters of the Abbasids.

The editors of Ṭabarî have altered Abû Muslim's title to *amîn âl Muhammad*, in deference to the readings of the MSS of other standard historical works. *Amîr* seems to be written on the coin, but *amîn* would be so little different that it is impossible to be certain.

# An Unplaced Fragment of the *Utukke Limnuti* Series

BY S LANGDON

THE unpublished text K 2505 has been partially utilized by the late Professor Zimmern in a few entries communicated by him to Professor Meissner for the *Nachträge* to the latter's *Seltene Assyrische Ideogramme*. It was obvious from the few



extracts available in this important book that K 2505 contains much valuable and new material, and I am grateful to the Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities of the British Museum, Mr Sidney Smith, for permission to copy and publish this text It throws much new light upon the forms and uses of Sumerian verbs I cannot discover any duplicates in the extensive incantation literature, although the fragment obviously belongs to a long and an important text of the *utukkê limnûti* series

K 2505

1 *kar*<br>
2 lal ]la a-mes [lal-la ki-a lal-la ]<br>
3 [ *ana* me-[e ? *tar su ana irsitim* [*tar-su* ]<br>
upon the waters they stretch, upon earth [they stretch ]<br>
4 [ ] *-mi* ? an bil [1] gim mu un-lag-ga-[e-ne]<br>
5 *mu u sa ki-ma mu us-la li u-*[*ša-an-ba-tu* ?]<br>
They are which scorches like the midday sun<br>
6 ud gul gim ki a mu un dirig [gi-e-ne]<br>
7 *ki ma û mi lim ni* [2] *ir si tam ma-lu* [*u*]<br>
Like an evil storm they fill the earth<br>
8 ud an ta ki a gub ba [e-ne ne]<br>
9 *û mu sa is ta šamê e li irsi tim kun-nu* [su-nu]<br>
A storm which from heaven upon earth is fixed, are they<br>
10 kalam ma ud gim mu un da ab sar-[ri-e-ne]<br>
11 *ma a ta ki ma û mi u šaḫ ma* [*tu*] [3]<br>
The land like a heat storm they cause to be parched

[1] But read an-bir = *muslalum*, for *Martin* ii, 29, see Meissner, SAI 372, as VR in Reisner SBH 53 10 (twice) SBP 108, 10 *bil* > *bir*, Sum *Grammar*, § 44

[2] *ûmu limnu*, regularly used in hemerologies for "evil day", sinister day, Sumerian *ud-gal gal* III Raw 53 No 4, 33-4 PSBA 1904, 56, K 19-20 I do not know other examples of *ûmu limnu* as used in this text

[3] *sar*, *bir* = *hamâtu* to burn not *hamâtu* to hasten Meissner, SAI, p 880 placed *sar* = *hamâtu* (2849) under *hamâtu*, to hasten The only known Sumerian word for *hamâtu*, hasten is *bur* = *hamâtu*, CT 12, 13 B 34, but reading (*du*) [illegible] = *hamâtum ša alaki*, ZA 10, 198, 8 – 13 is

12. ^giš^tir ^giš^mes-gal-gal-la [1] mu-un-bu-ri-e-[ne]
13. *ina kiš-ti me-e-si rab-bu-ti ú-rab-ba-[ṭu]* [2]
    In the forest they cause the great mountain ashes to quake.
14. am mudul [3]-mes-gim mu-un-gur-ru-uš-[e-ne] [4]
15. *ri-ma ki-ma* ni-ir *me-e-si i-šab-[ba-ṭu]*
    The wild bull(s) they torment like a *yoke* of ash
16 . .   . . .   a-gè-a-gim mu-un-rŭ-rŭ-[ne] [5]
17 [*ki-ma*   .                ] *ti a-gi-i i-šur-[ru]*
    Like the                of the flood they rush
18 [ki-a] íd-da-ge gír-mu-un-dib-dib-bi-[ne] [6]

more probable Hence *šar ra* = *ana šuḫmuṭu*, to cause to be consumed in fire, SBH 20, 30 = 23, 14 = Langdon, SBP 86, 30 *e-sir ra gub-ba mu-un-šar-ri-e ne* = *ša ina sûḳi izzazzu uštaḫmiṭu*, Those that stand in the street consumed themselves in fire, IV Raw 28*, No 4, Rev 56; var. mu-un-šar ri-dam, CT 15, 13 (Rev ) 31

[1] See also SBP 40, 31, 78, 24, 82, 32, 100, 55, 188, 33 (= SBH 95, 33), 52 Rev 2

[2] It is difficult to decide between *rababu* and *rabaṭu* for the restoration here The Sumerian for *rababu*, is *DUL*, K 3021, 3–6, *dul-dul* = *murabbib*, OECT vi, pl xxiv, *TUL*, *tul-tul-la-bi* = *rabbiš*, frightfully, K 69, Rev 9, *tul tul bi*, SBP 42, 56, *dul dul-bi*, Zimmern, KL 17, i, 8, *ge-tu ul* = *irba* (*rabû* = *rababu*), ATU i, 306, 12 Also *TUR*, *nam-ba-tu-ur* = *turabbib*, K 9282, Rev 6 *šu-dul* = (*rabbu*) *rabbiš*, in misery, RA 13, 137, Obv 14

For *rabâṭu*, in forms *našarbuṭu*, *itašrabuṭu*, the Sumerian is usually *BUL*, reduced to *bu u*, *bu* So *bu-bu meš*, var *bu bu-meš* = *muttašrabiṭûti*, CT 16, 15, 4, *ni-bu-bu* = *itanašrabbiṭu*, CT 17, 29, 5, *al bu-bu-ne-ne* = *itanašrabbitu*, CT 17, 4, 10, *BUL* > *BUR*, to waver, tremble, rush, is proved by BUR (bu-ur) = *parādu*, CT 12, 13, B 29 and BUL (bu-ur) > *nu-[us-su ša .   ]*, to shake, said of     , *Yale Syllabary* 98 = PBS v, 104, ii, 7. These are synonyms of *rabâṭu*, *šurbuṭu* On the change *l* > *r*, *bul* > *bur*, see *Sumerian Grammar*, § 44 and § 38, 6 Also *lagal* > *lagar*, psalmist, *dagal* > *dagar*, wide, SBP 276, 10, note 5, IV Raw 14, No 1, 24, ^d.^ *Lir-ra* for *Lil-la*, SBP 24, 3

Hence read here *mu un bu ri e ne*, i e *bu ri* for *buli* = *rabâṭu*

[3] *MU-BU*, dialectic for *giš BU*, values, *mudla*, *madla*, *malla*, *gazinbu*, *giššašku*, *gidi*, Zimmern, MAG ix, 259, *mudul*, *muǵur*, *iskim*, rod, beam, board, Meissner, MAG iii [3], 11–12 This text cited by Zimmern in Meissner, SAI 10124, *niru*, yoke, is perhaps the meaning here, but "yoke" in connection with wild bulls is unsatisfactory

[4] Cf [ .         ]-*guruš* = *ša-ba-tu ša É-NIM*, CT 12, 50, K 4359, Obv 24.

[5] Cf CT 16, 12, 24, 17, 21, 102 Value *dú-dú* = *šâru* also possible

[6] *gir-dib* = *etêku*

19. [*ina kib-*]*ri na-a-ri i-te-ni-il-li-ku*
    On the shore of the river they trespass
20 . ab-ba-ge a-gè-a mu-un-dib-dib-bi-ne
21 [ *tam*]-*tim a-gi-i ib-ta-na- -ú*
    of the sea, as a deluge they enter
22 mi-ni-ib-gú(r)-gú(r)-ne [1]
23 *me ?-e mar-ru-ti u-tar-rum*
    The (sweet waters ?) into bitter (waters ?) they turn
24 mu-un-díg-dig-gi-ne [2]

## NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION

To avoid all unusual diacritical marks in transcription, I propose to use henceforth, only the ordinary marks, e g *gur*, *gur*, *gur*, *gûr*, *gùr*, *gúr*, for homophones exceeding this list, *Gur*, *GUr*, *GUR*, *quR*, *qUR*, *qu(r)*, *qUr*. This system provides for thirteen signs in the case of triliteral homophones. By experience with the proposed system of inferior figure exponents I have concluded that it is unworkable

[1] Cf. [illegible] *zi-ṭu ... ḫu-an-gur* [illegible] *-šu ana marti itûr*, His [illegible] turns to gall CT 17, 10, 53 f.

[2] The ordinary meaning of [illegible] is *labâku*, *rabâbu*, *narâbu*, pour out. In hostile sense [illegible], hunger will be "poured out" on the land [illegible], Virolleaud, *Astrologie*, Sin, 34, 19 . 20 *Ishtar* 1, 7[illegible]

# The Influence of Al-Farabi's "Ihsa' al-'ulum" (*De scientiis*) on the Writers on Music in Western Europe

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER

"He [Al-Fārābī] composed a noble work [the *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm*] in which he enumerated the sciences and indicated the object of each, this treatise, the like of which had never before been composed and the plan of which had never been adopted by any other author, is an indispensable guide to students in the sciences "—Ṣā'id ibn Aḥmad al-Qurṭubī (d 1070)

THE question of the Arabian influence on the music of Western Europe has been considerably stressed of recent years.[1] In the practical art, the minstrel class of the Middle Ages not only adopted the actual instruments of the Arabs, such as the lute (*'ūd*), rebec (*rabāb*), guitar (*kaithār*), and others, but also the actual musical devices of the performers on them In the theoretical art, clues in the Mediaeval Latin treatises on music enable us to follow a track which leads us to the conclusion that the teachings and writings of Arabian or/and Mozarabian theorists of music also had some influence on the theory of music of Western Europe

Among the writers who can be claimed to have contributed to this influence are Al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, and Ibn Rushd. Their works were translated into Latin and became the text-books of the schools of Western Europe The most outstanding of these treatises were —

| | Arabic Titles | Latin Titles |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Al-Fārābī, *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm* | Alpharabius, *De scientiis* |
| 2 | Al-Fārābī. [Title unknown ] | Alpharabius, *De ortu scientiarum* |
| 3 | Ibn Sīnā, *Fī'l-nafs* | Avicenna, *De anima* |
| 4. | Ibn Sīnā, *Fī taqāsim al-ḥikma* | Avicenna, *De divisione scientiarum* |
| 5 | Ibn Rushd, *Sharḥ fī'l-nafs li'Arisṭūṭālis* | Averroes, *Commentarius in Aristotelis de anima.* |

[1] See H. G Farmer, *The Arabian Influence on Musical Theory* (1925), *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence* (1930), *The Organ of the Ancients from Eastern Sources* (1931), and *Studies in Oriental Musical*

The earliest, and probably the best known, of these works was the *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm* of Al-Fārābī, and for that reason it deserves special attention.

## § I

### AL-FĀRĀBĪ

The recently published French translation of Al-Fārābī's monumental *Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-kabīr*[1] will doubtless confirm the opinion already expressed elsewhere,[2] that Al-Fārābī was probably the greatest writer on the theory of music during the Middle Ages. His treatment of speculative theory was not only an advance on that contributed by the Greeks, but in Western Europe he had no peer as an independent thinker until Ramos de Pareja (c. 1440–1521) made his appearance, and he, like another great theorist—Salinas (c. 1512–90), came from Spain, a land that had been greatly influenced by the Arabian sciences.

It was only natural that Al-Fārābī, so worthy a follower of Aristotle, should deal perspicuously with this subject. If he deserved the title, which the Muslims gave him, of "The second teacher" (i.e. second to Aristotle) in mental philosophy, he was certainly *facile princeps* in the philosophy of music.

Although Al-Kindi (d. 874) had already used the Greek theorists of music to some advantage, it was not until the time of Al-Farabi when the works on music by Aristotle (*De anima*), Aristoxenus, Euclid, Nicomachus, Ptolemy, as well as the commentaries on *De anima* by Themistius and others, had been translated into Arabic,[3] that the full

*Instruments* (1931), as well as the same writer's chapter on music in *The Legacy of Islām* (Clarendon Press, 1931). See also J. Ribera, *La musica de la cantigas* (1922), *La musica Andaluza medieval en las canciones de trovadores, troveros y minnesinger* (1923–5), and *Historia de la musica Árabe medieval y su influencia en la Española* (1927).

[1] Al-Fārābī, *Grande traité de la musique. Traduction française par Baron Rodolphe d'Erlanger* (*La musique arabe*, tome I.). Paris, 1930.

[2] See Farmer, *Historical Facts* . . ., p. 292.

[3] See Farmer, "Greek Theorists of Music in Arabic Translation": *Isis*, xiii, 1930.

bounty of Greek genius came to be felt. It is no wonder therefore that the Arabs were able to make an advance beyond Western Europe in this respect, seeing that the latter had no knowledge of the Greek writers themselves save what could be gleaned from Boethius and the compends of Martianus Capella Cassiodorus, and Isidore of Seville [1] Al-Fārābī took the fullest advantage of these treasures.

Born at Fārāb in Transoxiana about the year 870, Al-Fārābī received the best part of his education at Baghdād and Ḥarrān, where he studied the disciplines, including the theory of music Unlike other theorists, Al-Fārābī was a practical musician of no mean reputation,[2] and this gave him a distinct advantage over others Under the patronage of the Ḥamdānid sulṭān, Saif al-Daula, he settled at Aleppo, where he wrote his most important works, and earned a reputation as "the greatest philosopher the Muslims ever had" [3] He died at Damascus about 950

Besides his *Grand Book on Music* (*Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-kabīr*), he wrote other works on music including a compendium (*mukhtasar*) entitled *A Discourse Concerning Music* (*Kalām fī l-mūsīqī*) and a *Book on the Classification of Rhythm* (*Kitāb fī iḥṣā' al-īqā'*) [4] Unfortunately, only the first-named of these works has come down to us, although a *Book of Musical Modes* (*Kitāb al-adwār*) is catalogued in a library in the Levant as a work on music [5]

The *Grand Book on Music* was looked upon as the most authoritative work of its kind in the East, and all the great Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and even Indian writers on music,

[1] See Farmer, *Historical Facts* . , p 187

[2] Ibn Ghaibī, *Sharḥ al-adwār* MS Ibn Khallikān, *Biog Dict*, iii, 309

[3] Ibn Khallikān, *Biog Dict*, iii, 307

[4] Ibn al-Qifṭī gives a shorter title—*Book of Rhythms* (*Kitāb al-īqā'āt*). Steinschneider, in his *Al-Fārābī* (p 216), gives the title of another book on rhythm, but it would appear that this latter is merely a continuation of the title of the previous work See Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a, ii, 134 ; Ibn al-Qifṭī, 280, and cf Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, p 176.

[5] *Al-Hilāl*, xxviii, 214

from Ibn Sīnā in the eleventh century [1] to Ṭanṭāwī in the twentieth century,[2] make their obeisance to the name of Al-Fārābī and his famous treatise which had become a text-book even in the Jewish schools, as we know from Ibn 'Aqnin (c 1160-1226) [3]

## § II

### THE IHSĀ' AL-'ULŪM

We possess little information concerning the school curricula in those days, although we know the subjects and the books that were studied Fortunately, however, we get a fair idea of their scope in another treatise by Al-Fārābī entitled the *Ihsā' al-'ulūm* or the *Classification of the Sciences*,[4] a work which the Arabs of Spain considered, as Ṣā'id ibn Aḥmad (*d* 1070) says "An indispensable guide to studies in the sciences" [5] In the twelfth century it was translated into Latin by both John of Seville and Gerard of Cremona under the title of *De scientiis* It was already known in the Jewish schools, since Moses ibn Ezra (*d* c 1140) used it, and we possess a condensed Hebrew version made by Qalonymos ben Qalonymos (*d* c 1328) [6]

Although it was known in the eighteenth century that the Arabic text of the *Ihsā' al 'ulūm* existed in the Escorial Library at Madrid [7] yet it was a long time before it was recognized that this was the original of the popular Mediaeval Latin treatise *De scientiis* Indeed, for some time it was thought that the *Ihsā' al 'ulūm* was a sort of "encyclopædia", an idea due primarily to Casiri's description, but perpetuated by Steinschneider, which brought a protest from Munk [8]

[1] *Al Shifā*

[2] *Al majmū' al 'arabiyya* Alexandria 1914

[3] Steinschneider *Al Fārābī* 81

[4] Or the *Statistics of Sciences*

[5] Ibn Khallikān *Biog Dict* iii, 308

[6] Steinschneider *Al Fārābī* 83

[7] Casiri, *Bibl Escur* Madrid 1760 70 No 643

[8] Munk, *Mélanges* 343 It is to be regretted that the word has also been used by the present writer in his contribution to the *Legacy of Islām*, p 369

The work is not an encyclopædia, but simply a handbook of the sciences and a guide to curricula and deeper studies. The idea of a handbook of this type was soon borrowed by others in the East, including Ibn Sīnā, and in the West by Gundissalinus [1]

In spite of the existence of the Arabic text of the *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm* in the Escorial Library and the fact that for a century and a half it was looked upon as a sole exemplar,[2] no attempt was made to edit the text or even to place it under contribution by the collation of the Latin texts of *De scientiis.* Even Dr Ludwig Baur, who edited *De divisione philosophiae* of Gundissalinus in 1903,[3] and Dr Eilhard Wiedemann, who made a translation of the mathematical section of the *De scientiis* in German in 1907,[4] did not attempt to consult the Arabic text

In 1921, however, fresh interest was aroused in the Arabic text owing to the discovery of another manuscript of the *Ihsā' al-'ulūm* at Najaf in Al-'Irāq by the Shaikh Muhammad Riḍā This manuscript dates from the thirteenth century, and is therefore older than the Escorial manuscript which may be dated 1310 The Shaikh Muhammad Riḍā published the text of his manuscript in the Arabic journal *Al-'Irfān* in 1921,[5] and at the same time contributed a number of emendations, although much escaped his notice It may be

[1] The older writers wrote this name Gundisalvi, a form which does occur in some MSS More recent examination shows that the name is more generally written Gundissalinus, and this is the form adopted by Baur in his edition of the *De divisione philosophiae* of this writer In the *Legacy of Islām* the form Gundisalvus has been adopted

[2] The old number (Casiri, *Bibl Escur* ) was 643 The present press mark (Derenbourg, *MSS arabes de l'Escurial*) is 646

[3] Baur, *Dominicus Gundissalinus De divisione philosophiae* (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, Band IV), Munster, 1903

[4] *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften*, XI Über *Al-Fārābīs Aufzählung der Wissenschaften* (*De Scientiis*) (*Sitz der physikalisch-medizinischen Sozietät in Erlangen*, Band 39, 1907 )

[5] The *'Irfān* is a monthly review published at Saida in Syria under the editorship of Aḥmad 'Araf al Zain The above text is given in vol. vi, pp 11-20, 130-43, 241-57.

urged on his behalf, however, that he did not collate his text with the Escorial manuscript nor with the Latin versions.

Two years later, a further contribution to the subject was made by Père Bouyges in the *Mélanges de la Faculté orientale de l'Université Saint-Joseph (Beyrouth)* in a critical scrutation of the text of the Shaikh Muhammad Riḍā[1] By comparison with the Latin version of the *De scientiis* as reflected in the *De divisione philosophiae* of Gundissalinus, and through the part-translation of Dr Wiedemann, Père Bouyges was able to rectify some of the errors of the Shaikh Muhammad Riḍā, and to suggest other valuable rectifications Yet again, as with Dr Baur Dr Wiedemann, and the Shaikh Muḥammad Riḍā, the Escorial text was ignored in the collation[2]

## § III

### THE ESCORIAL ARABIC TEXT

Since the appearance of the Najaf text of the *Iḥsā' al-'ulūm* in the *Irfān*, another manuscript has been discovered in the Koprulu Library at Constantinople The copy is not dated, but we are informed that it is an old one Now that we possess at least three copies of this famous work, the time may be considered ripe for the editing of the text together with the Latin versions In the meantime, the present writer's researches into the Arabian influence on Western Europe prompt him to offer a collation of that portion of the three Arabic texts of the *Iḥsā al-'ulūm* which deals with music, together with a similar collation of two manuscripts and one printed text of the Latin *De scientiis*, as well as two unedited manuscripts of *De divisione philosophiae* of Gundissalinus and four other texts

As a guide to the reader the following notation has been used for the Arabic MSS —

[1] Beyrout, 1923 Tome ix pp 49 70

[2] The difficulty of access to the MS has been pleaded as an excuse.

### The Arabic Texts

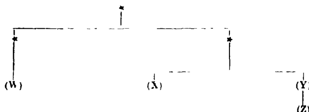
W = *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm li'l-Fārābī* Escorial Library, Madrid No 646, fols 27–45 Probable date, A D 1310

X = *Kitāb iḥṣā' al-'ulūm li'l-Fārābī* In *Al-'Irfān*, 1921 Thirteenth century

Y = [*Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm li'l-Fārābī*] Koprülü Library, Constantinople No 1604

Z = [*Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm li'l-Fārābī*] Copy of the Constantinople MS in possession of the present writer

The Escorial manuscript (W) is used as the basis of the present text, but it is collated with the Najaf text (X) and my own copy (Z) of the Constantinople MS (Y) From a comparison of the texts it is clear that the Escorial MS, which is in a Maghribī hand, belongs to a different group from the Najaf and Constantinople MSS




Here are the subjects dealt with in the Escorial text of the *Ihsā' al-'ulūm* —

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Grammar (*lisān*) | Fol 27 v |
| 2 | Logic (*manṭiq*) | „ 30 |
| 3 | Mathematics (*ta'ālīm*) | |
| | (*a*) Arithmetic (*'adad*) | „ 35 v |
| | (*b*) Geometry (*handasa*) | „ 36 |
| | (*c*) Optics (*manāẓir*) | „ 36 v |
| | (*d*) Astrology (*nujūm*) | „ 37 v |
| | (*e*) Music (*mūsīqā*) | „ 38 |
| | (*f*) Statics (*athqāl*) | „ 38 v |
| | (*g*) Mechanics (*ḥiyal*) | „ 39 |
| 4 | Natural Science (*ṭabī'ī*) | „ 39 v |
| 5. | Divinity (*ilahī*) | „ 41 v |
| 6 | Theology (*kalām*) | „ 42–5 |

All the sciences in the above have subdivisions, but only those of mathematics are mentioned here because they concern the subject under discussion The order of the mathematical sciences in the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' is—arithmetic, geometry, astrology, geography, music, and proportion [1] In the *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm* of Al-Khwārizmī the plan is—arithmetic, geometry, astrology, geography, music, mechanics, and chemistry [2] These writers also lived in the tenth century, but slightly later than Al-Fārābī

Here is the Escorial text of the section on the *'ilm al-mūsīqā* in the *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm* of Al-Fārābī —

واما عِلْمُ اَلْمُوسِيقَى[3] فإنه يشتمل بالجملة على[4] تعرف[5]
أصناف الألحان وما منه تؤلف وعلى ما له تؤلف وكيف
تؤلف[6] وبأي أحوال يجب أن تكون[7] حتى يصير
فعلها أنفذ[8] وأبلغ والذي يعرف بهذا الاسم[9] علمان •
أحدهما علم الموسيقى العملية • والثاني علم الموسيقى النظرية.

[1] Dieterici *Die Propaedeutik der Araber* Berlin 1865

[2] *Liber Mafātīḥ al-ulūm* Ed Van Vloten, Leyden, 1895

[3] This word is vocalized throughout the Escorial MS as *mūsiqā* not *mūsīqī* This form also occurs in the thirteenth century *Vocabulista in Arabico* edited by Schiaparelli Perhaps the Latin *musica* influenced the Maghribi form In the East it was generally written *mūsīqī*, although موسيقا may be found

[4] X adds أن

[5] X يعرف

[6] X has وعلى ما منه يؤلف وعلى ما يؤلف كيف يؤلف Z has وعلى ما له يؤلف وكيف تؤلف

[7] X and Z يكون

[8] X and Z ابعد

[9] X العلم It is *nomen* in the Latin text

فالموسيقى[1] العملية هي[2] التي شأنها أن توجد أصناف الألحان
المحسوسة [محسوسة Marginal note][3] في الآلات التي
أعدت لها[4] إما بالطبع وإما بالصناعة والآلة[5] الطبيعية هي
الحنجرة واللهاة وما فيها ثم الأنف[6] * والصناعية[7] مثل[8]
المزامير والعيدان وغيرها * وصاحب الموسيقى العملية إنما
يصور[9] النِغَم[10] والألحان وجميع لواحقها على أنها في الآلات
التي يتعود[11] إيجادها[12] فيها[13] * والنظرية تعطي[14] علمها وهي
معقولة وتعطي أسباب كل ما تأتلف[15] منه الألحان لا على
أنها في مادة بل على الإطلاق وعلى أنها منترعة من[16] كل
آلة وكل مادة وتأخذها[17] على أنها مصنوعة [مسموعة
Interlineal note][18] على العموم ومن[19] أي آلة اتفقت ومن

[1] X والموسقى
[2] X omits هي
[3] X and Z محسوسة
[4] X omits لها Z has لها اعدت.
[5] X and Z فالآلة
[6] Z الآلة
[7] Z omits و
[8] X هي
[9] X and Z يتصور
[10] This word is vocalized *nigham* not *nagham*. This form also occurs in the thirteenth century *Vocabulista in Arabico*.
[11] X and Z تعود
[12] Z اتحادها
[13] X and Z منها
[14] Z يعطي
[15] X and Z باتلف
[16] X and Z عن
[17] X and Z باخذها
[18] X and Z مسموعة
[19] Z omits و

أي جسم ما[1] اتفق * وينقسم[2] علم[3] الموسيقى النظرية[4] ألى أجزاء عظمى خمسة أولها القول في المبادئ والأقاويل [والأوايل Marginal note][5] التي شأنها أن تستعمل في استخراج ما في هذا العلم وكيف الوجه في استعمال تلك المبادئ وبأي طريق تستنبط[6] هذه الصناعة ومن أي الاشياء ومن كم شيء[7] تلتيم[8] وكيف ينبغي أن يكون الفاحص عما فيه * والثاني القول في أصول هذه الصناعة وهو القول في استحراج النغم ومعرفة عدة النغم كم هي[8] وكم أصنافها وتبين[9] نسب بعضها من[10] بعض والبراهين على جميع ذلك والقول في أصناف أوصاعها وترتيباتها التي تصير بها[11] موطاة[12] لأن يأخذ الآخذ منها ما شاء ويرك[13] منها الألحان والثالث القول في مطابقة[14] ما تبين ايتبين

[1] X and Z omit ه
[2] Z تنقسم
[3] Z عنو
[4] X الصري
[5] X and Z الأوائل
[6] Z يستنبط
[7] Z شيء

[8] Instead of ومعرفة عدة النغم كم هي X has وكم عددها وكيف هي, Z has ومعرفة عدد النغم وكم هي

[9] X سس Z حس
[10] X and Z الى
[11] X and Z يصير
[12] X and Z مواطاة
[13] X ويرك Z ويترك
[14] X مطابقة

[Interlineal note][1] في الأصول[2] والأقاويل[3] والبراهين على
أصناف آلات[4] الصناعة[5] التي تعد لها وإيجادها[6] كلها منها[7]
ووضعها فيها[8] على التقدير والترتيب الذي تبين في الأصول.
والرابع القول[9] في أصناف الإيقاعات الطبيعية التي هي
أوزان النغم والخامس في تأليف الألحان في الجملة ثم في[10]
تأليف الألحان الكاملة وهي الموضوعة في الأقاويل
الشعرية المؤلفة على ترتيب وانتظام وفي[11] كيفية صنعتها[12]
بحسب غرض غرض من أغراض[13] الألحان وتعريف[14]
الألحان[15] التي تصير[16] بها أبلغ وأنفذ[17] في بلوغ الغرض
الذي له عملت[18].

## § IV

### Translation of the Text

"And as for the SCIENCE OF MUSIC, it comprises, in short, the investigation into the various kinds of melodies

[1] X تبين Z يتبين
[2] X لأماصول
[3] Z مالأماويل
[4] X and Z الآلات
[5] X and Z الصاعة
[6] Z واتحادها
[7] X and Z مها
[8] X مها
[9] X omits القول
[10] X omits في
[11] X and Z omit في
[12] X صمتها
[13] Z الأعراس
[14] X يعرف
[15] X and Z الأحوال
[16] X يصير
[17] X and Z أنفد وأبلم
[18] X عمل Z العمل

(الحان), and what they are composed of, and for what they are composed, and how they are composed, and in what forms (احوال) it is necessary that they should be in order that the performance of them be made more impressive (انفذ) and effective (ابلغ) And that which is known by this name [1] [i e 'music'] comprises two sciences One of them is the science of practical music, and the second is the science of theoretical music

"And as for practical music, its concern is the production of the various kinds of perceptible melodies in the instruments adapted for them either by nature or by artifice And as for the natural instrument[s], they are the larynx and the uvula, and what is in them, and then the nose [2] And the artificial instrument[s] are like the reedpipes (مزامير), and the lutes (عيدان), and such like And the exponent of practical music only produces notes (نغم), and melodies, and their adjuncts in so far as they are in the instruments upon which it is customary to perform them

And the theoretical gives the science of them And it is metaphysical, and it gives the reasons for everything out of which the melodies are composed, not in so far as they are in a material, but independent and irrespective of any instrument or any material And it takes them [i e. the melodies] according as they are usually heard [3] from any

[1] MS. X has "science" (علم) instead of "name" (اسم) The latter word occurs in the Latin translation of Gerard of Cremona

[2] The nose as a medium is mentioned by the Jewish writer Profiat Duran, writing in 1403 who quotes a passage from an Arabic treatise by Abū'l-Salt Umayya (Ob. 1134) as follows "Says Abū l Salt in his book *Hasppaqah* dealing with music Now for the media by which music is produced, some are natural as the throat and the nose'" Duran's *Ma'aseh Efod*, Vienna (1865)

[3] In MS. X and Z the word is "heard" and this agrees with the Latin texts. MS. W has "produced" (مصنوعة) with an interlineal correction to "heard" (مسموعة)

instrument and from any body (جسم = 'material') whatever

"And the science of theoretical music is divided into five major parts. The first of them is the discourse about principles (مبادىء) and fundamentals (اوايل),[1] the purpose of which is that they should be used in the elucidation (استخراج) of what is in this science, and the method of the application of those principles, and in which way this art is elucidated, and from what things and from how many things it is made up, and what sort of person the enquirer into it should be

"And the second [part] is the discourse about the rudiments (اصول) of this art And it is the discourse about the derivation of the notes, and the knowledge of the constitution [2] of the notes, and how many they be, and how many their species, and the distinction of their ratios one from another, and the demonstrations for all that, and the discourse about the species, their structure, and their arrangement by which they become facilitated,[3] because one derives from them what one requires and composes from them the melodies

"And the third [part] is the discourse about the conformity of what is explained in regard to the rudiments, and opinions,[4] and demonstrations to the different kinds of artificial instruments which are prepared for them, and the producing of all of them from [5] them, and their position in them, according to valuation (تقدير) and arrangement, as is explained in the rudiments

[1] MS. W has "opinions" (اقاويل), but a marginal note has "fundamentals" (اوايل) which is also confirmed by X and Z

[2] Cf. the passage in X and Z

[3] W has "facilitated" (موطاة) X and Z have "concordant" (مواطاة)

[4] X and Z have "fundamentals" (اوايل) instead of "opinions" (اقاويل).

[5] Cf. X and Z, where the word is "in" as in the Latin texts

"And the fourth [part] is the discourse about the various kinds of natural rhythms (إِيقاعات) which are the measures of the notes.

"And the fifth [part] is about the composition of the melodies in general, then about the composition of the perfect melodies—and they are those set in poetical speech, composed according to arrangement and order, and in the manner of their employment[1] in view of the main object of the melodies, and the definition of the melodies,[2] which become through that more effective and impressive in attaining the object for which they are made"

§ V

THE LATIN VERSIONS

During a considerable part of the Middle Ages, Muslim Spain was the intellectual hub of Western Europe Ibn al Ḥijārī (*d* 1194), an Andalusian Arab, says that during the rule of the Umayyads in Spain (eighth to eleventh century) "students from all parts of the world flocked . . to learn the sciences of which Cordova was the most noble repository, and to derive knowledge from the mouth of the doctors and *'ulamā* who swarmed in it"[3] The pointed comparisons made by Adelard of Bath (eleventh century),[4] Daniel of Morlay (twelfth century),[5] and Roger Bacon (thirteenth century),[6] between the culture of Christian Europe and Muslim Spain are probably just All this is amply borne out by the hundreds of treatises which were translated out of the Arabic into Latin to become the text-books of the schools of Christian Western Europe

Among the numerous Arabic writers translated was

[1] Cf the word in \
[2] Cf \ and the Latin texts.
[3] Al Maqqari, *Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, i, 30
[4] *Quaestiones naturales* See Gollancz, *Dodo Ve-Nechdi*, viii
[5] Thorndike, *Hist of Magic and Experimental Science*, ii, 173
[6] Fr Rogeri Bacon *Opera quaedam hactenus inedita*, ed Brewer, xxxv.

Al-Fārābī, and no less than eight of his works appeared in Latin including his popular *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm* which was known as *De scientiis*[1] Two translations of this work are known to us, one attributed to John of Seville, and another definitely by Gerard of Cremona[2]

John of Seville is nowadays identified with John of Spain, John of Luna or Limia, John of Toledo, and even with John Avendehut (= Ibn Dā'ūd)[3] John of Spain translated the *De differentia spiritus et animae* of Costus (= Quṣṭā ibn Lūkā) from the Arabic for Archbishop Raymund of Toledo (1125–51) He can be traced by other dates, more or less precise, from 1135 when he translated the *Rudimenta astronomiae* of Alfraganus (= Al-Farghānī) to 1153 when he (John of Toledo) translated the *Liber de nativitatibus* of Albohali (= Abū 'Alī Yahyā ibn al-Khayyāṭ) He is said to have died in 1157, but a John of Spain was living in 1176–80,[4] and in 1187[5]

Gerard of Cremona (1114–87) also worked at Toledo for a time This city was the Christian centre for the study of the "Arabian sciences", and when Gerard arrived there he was amazed, he tells us, at the multitude of Arabic books in every field[6] Daniel of Morlay, the English translator of Arabic works, describes how he found Gerard translating

[1] The remainder were *De ortu scientiarum, De naturali auditu, De causis, De intellectu et intelligibili, De syllogismo, De tempore*, and *Declaratio compendiosa super libris Rhetoricorum Aristotelis* Others were translated into Hebrew See Munk, *Melanges*, 351–2

[2] Jourdain, *Recherches critiques sur l'age et l'origine des traductions latines d'Aristote*, 117 Leclerc, *Hist de la médecine arabe*, ii, 430 Wustenfeld, *Die Übersetzungen arabischer Werke im Lateinische*, 67 Steinschneider, "Die europäischen Übersetzungen aus dem arabischen" *Sitz Wien Akad*, cxlix, xli, Nos 46, 68 Haskins, *Studies in the Hist. of Mediaeval Science*, 13 Thorndike, *Hist. of Magic and Experimental Science*, ii, 73 Huart, *Histoire des arabes*, ii, 379, 380.

[3] Jourdain, 118 Sudhoff, "Die kurze Vita und das Verzeichnis der Arbeiten Gerhards von Cremona " *Archiv f Gesch d Med an der Universität Leipzig*, viii, 73 Haskins, 13 Steinschneider, No 68

[4] J W. Brown, *Life and Legend of Michael Scot*, 35.

[5] Thorndike, ii, 76.

[6] Haskins, 15

Ptolemy's *Almagest* into Latin with the help of a Mozárabe named Galippus (= Ghālib), who probably turned the Arabic into Spanish whilst Gerard fashioned the Spanish into Latin. A similar literary partnership existed between Gundissalinus and John Avendehut (= Ibn Dā'ūd), Plato of Tivoli and Savasorda (= Abraham ibn Ḥiyya), and Michael Scot and Alphagirus (= Al-Fakhr) or Abuteus, the assessors in each case being either Jews or Arabs

Dominicus Gundissalinus (Gundisalvi, Gundisalvus), the Archdeacon of Toledo, was also credited with a translation of *De scientiis* by both [1] Jourdain and Leclerc,[2] but this was due probably to confusing this work with the *De divisione philosophiae* of Gundissalinus which had been ascribed to Al-Fārābī [3] Gundissalinus was certainly one of the translators who worked for the Archbishop Raymund (1125–51), and if we allow that his assessor John Avendehut is identical with John of Seville and John of Spain, it is quite likely that Gundissalinus may have had a hand in the translation He was the author of a more extended handbook of the sciences entitled *De divisione philosophiae* Two-thirds of this work is a compilation from other treatises, notably the *De scientiis* and *De ortu scientiarum* of Al-Fārābī [4] This has been fully demonstrated by Dr Ludwig Baur in his *Dominicus Gundissalinus De divisione philosophiae* (1903), who published the full text of the latter based on five codices

Of the two versions of Al-Fārābī's *De scientiis* that have come down to us we know for certain that one of them was translated by Gerard of Cremona This is stated in the Paris codex (*Bibl Nat* 9335 fol 143 v) [5] Although this text has

[1] Jourdain, 117
[2] Leclerc ii 377
[3] Cf Wüstenfeld 39 Leclerc ii 379
[4] It is scarcely correct, however to say that the *De scientiis* appears in its entirety in the *De divisione philosophiae* Cf Wulf, *Histoire de la philosophie médiévale*, 1905, 298
[5] "*Lib Alfarabii de scientiis* translatus a Magistro Girado Cremonensi in Toleto de Arabico in Latinum

frequently been referred to, yet it has not been published. In 1907, however, Dr. Eilhard Wiedemann issued a German translation of the portion dealing with the mathematical sciences.[1] The other version, ascribed to John of Seville, is probably older than Gerard's rendering. This was published at Paris in 1638 by Guilhemus Camerarius, a Scotsman, who was a Professor of Theology and Canon Law at Paris.[2] He says that his text was based on an "antiquissimus manuscriptum" in the "Bibliotheca Sancti Albini apud Andes".

If the *De divisione philosophiae* of Gundissalinus dates from the mid-twelfth century as Dr Baur suggests, then the translation of *De scientiis*, from which he borrowed so extensively, must have been accomplished earlier[3] Karpinski says that his work as a translator for Archbishop Raymund may have started as early as 1133,[4] and Dr Thorndike is of opinion that the *De divisione philosophiae* was written later than this[5] However, whether Gundissalinus had any hand in translating Al-Fārābī's *Ihsā' al-'ulūm* into the *De scientiis* or not, it is quite certain that the version used by him in his *De divisione philosophiae* was the one attributed to John of Seville and not the Gerard version[6]

The question arises "Why should there be two versions of the *De scientiis*, seeing that their authors were contemporaries?" As already pointed out, John of Seville's version would appear to be the older, and a comparison of the texts

[1] *Sitz. der physikalisch-medizinischen Sozietat in Erlangen*, Bd 39

[2] The title runs *Alpharabii vetustissimi Aristotelis interpretis, opera omnia, quae latina lingua conscripta reperiri potuerunt, ex antiquissimis Manuscriptis eruta, studio et opera Guilhemi Camerarii, Scoti Fintraei, Sacrae Theologiae professoris, juris canonici doctoris etc* Dr George Sarton (*Intro to the Hist of Science*, II, i, 340) attributes the Camerarius version to Gerard of Cremona (See also Wüstenfeld, p. 67, and Wiedemann, p 77) A comparison between my texts and the Camerarius version will show that this cannot be maintained

[3] Baur, 163

[4] Karpinski, *Robert of Chester's Algebra of Al-Khowarizmi* (1915), 23.

[5] Thorndike, ii, 79

[6] Cf. Baur, 163 Thorndike, ii, 79

seems to show that Gerard had the John of Seville version before his eyes whilst engaged on his recension. Although both versions are correct translations, yet that of John of Seville reveals an occasional hiatus It was on this account probably that Gerard sought to produce a more faithful rendering

## § VI

### The Latin Texts

The section dealing with the "science of music" in the *De scientiis* according to the two versions of Gerard of Cremona and John of Seville is subjoined from two thirteenth century MSS, neither of which have been published hitherto. For the sake of further comparison, two uncollated and unpublished texts of the *De divisione philosophiae* of Gundissalinus, both of the thirteenth century, are also dealt with These were not noticed by Dr Baur when he collated the texts of the latter In addition to these, the appropriate portions of the *De scientiis* and the *De divisione philosophiae* borrowed, either directly or indirectly, by Vincent of Beauvais, Jerome of Moravia, Pseudo-Aristotle, Pseudo-Bede, and Simon of Tunstede, have also been included for the sake of identification [1]

### The Latin Texts

A Gerard of Cremona, *De scientiis* (Bibl Nat, Paris, No 9335, fols 148 148 v Thirteenth century )

B John of Seville, *De divisione omnium scientiarum* [= *De scientiis*] (Brit Museum, London Cotton MS Vesp B X Thirteenth century )

C John of Seville *De scientiis* (In Camerarius, *Alpharabii vetustissimi Aristotelis interpretis*, Paris, 1638, pp 23 5 )

D Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum doctrinale* (Venice, 1494. Lib xvii, Cap xv et seq )

[1] The texts are quoted verbatim, contractions excepted.

E = Jerome of Moravia, *Tractatus de musica*. (In Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi* . . Paris, 1864–76 Tome i, Lib i)

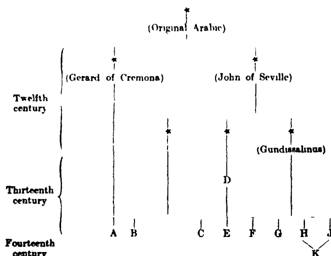
F = Gundissalinus, *Compendium scientiarum* [= *De divisione philosophiae*] (Brit Museum, London, Sloane, 2461, fols. 26–27 v Thirteenth century.)

G = Gundissalinus, [*De divisione philosophiae*] (Brit Museum, London, Sloane, 2946, fols 214–214 v Thirteenth century ) Wrongly attributed to Isaac [Israeli]

H = Pseudo-Aristotle (In Coussemaker, op. cit, Tome i, Lib vi)

J = Pseudo-Bede, *De musica quadrata* (In Bede, *Opera* . . *omnia*, Cologne, 1612, Tome i )

K = Simon of Tunstede, *Quatuor principalia musicae* (In Coussemaker, op cit, Tome iv, Lib ii, Cap xiii–xvii )




| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| A. | Scientia uero musice, | comprehendit in summa, | cognitionem |
| B | Scientia musice | in summa comprehendit | cognitionem |
| D. . | Musica | comprehendit | cognitionem |
| . . . | | in summa comprehendere | cognicionem |
| H. .. . . | | in summa comprehendere | cognitionem |

specierum armoniarum, et illud ex quo componuntur,
specierum armoniarum [1] et illud ex quibus [2] componuntur
specierum armonie, et illud ex quo componitur
specierum armonicarum et illud ex [3] quo componuntur
specierum armoniarum, [4] et illud ex quo componitur [5]

et illud ad quod componuntur, et qualiter componuntur,
[et qualiter componuntur,] [6]

et illud ad quod componuntur et qualiter componuntur
et illud ad quod componitur [7] Et qualiter componuntur

et quibus modis oportet ut sint donec faciant
et [8] quibus modis oportet [9] ut sint [10] quousque faciant
et quibus modis
et quibus modis oportet ut sint quousque faciant

operationem suam penetrabiliorem, et magis ultimam
operationem [11] [suam] [12] penetrabiliorem [13] et magis ultimam

operacionem suam penetrabiliorem et magis ultimam

Et illud quidem quod hoc nomine cognoscitur, est due

scientiae Quam una est scientia musice actiua,
Musica autem [14] alia est actiua
Musica quoque diuiditur in actiuam
Instrumentum vero aliud est practice,
Instrumentum vero aliud habet pratice,

[1] " harmoniarum " in C
[2] " quo " in C
[3] Cf. Baur
[4] " harmoniarum " in J " armoniarum " in K
[5] " componuntur " in J and K
[6] In C but not in B
[7] " et ad illud componuntur " in J
The phrase is wholly omitted in K
[8] " et ex " in C
[9] " apparer " in C
[10] " quod, sint " in C
[11] " comparationem " in C
[12] In C but not in B
[13] " penetrabilem " in C
[14] " vero " in C

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | et secunda scientia musice speculatiua | | Musica quidem |
| . | alia | . speculatiua.[1] | Sed |
| . | et | speculatiuam [2] | |
| | et [3] aliud | theorice | |
| | aliud | theorice | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | actiua, est illa cuius | proprietas est ut inueniat | |
| | activa musica [4] | proprietas est | invenire |
| | Actiue [5] [secundum ipsum] [6] | proprietas est | inuenire |
| H | | | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| A | species armoniarum sensatiuarum | in instrumentis | |
| B | species armoniarum [7] sensativarum [8] et | instrumentis [9] | |
| D | armonias sensitiuas | ex instrumentis | |
| F. | | Instrumentum [vero] [10] | |
| H | | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | que preparata sunt eis | autem per naturam | autem | per artem | |
| B | que preparata sunt [in] [11] eis | per naturam | | per artem [12] | |
| D | que preparata sunt eis | uel natura | | vel arte | |
| F | practice aliud est | naturale, | aliud | artificiale | |
| H | Pratice vero aliud | naturale, | aliud | artificiale | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | Instrumenta quidem | naturalia, | sunt | epiglotis, | et |
| B | Instrumenta [autem] [13] | naturalia | [sunt] [14] | epiglotis | et |
| D | Instrumenta | naturalia | sunt, ut | epyglotes [15] | et |
| F | | Naturale [16] | est ut | epiglotes [17] | |
| H | | Naturale | vero est [18] | | |

[1] "speculatiua, alia actiua" in C

[2] E has "Alphorabius autem dividit musicam in activam primo et speculativam"

[3] Not in C nor in Baur

[4] "vniuocae" in C

[5] "Activa" in E

[6] In E but not in D

[7] "harmoniarum" in C

[8] "naturum" in C

[9] "existens" in C.

[10] In G but not in F Cf Baur

[11] In C but not in B

[12] "vel natura vel arte" in C

[13] In C but not in B

[14] In C but not in B

[15] "epiglotes" in E

[16] Same in G Baur "naturalis"

[17] "epyglotes" in C

[18] Here is a variation "pulmo, guttur, lingua, dentes, palati et cetera membra spiritualia, principaliter factor vocis epiglotus"

| | |
|---|---|
| A. | uuula et que sunt in eis, deinde nasus |
| B. | uvula[1] et que sunt in eis deinde nasus |
| D | vuula[2] et que in eis sunt, deinde uero nasus.[3] |
| F. | uuula[4] et que sunt in eis, et arterie et nasus |
| H | |

| | |
|---|---|
| A | Et artificialia sunt sicut |
| B | Artificialia vero sicut[5] ut |
| D | Artificialia sunt ut |
| F | Instrumentum uero artificiale est ut[6] |
| H | Artificiale est ut[7] |

| | |
|---|---|
| A | fistule, et cithare, et alia |
| B | fistule et[8] corde[9] et verba alia[10] |
| D | fistule corde verba et alia huius modi |
| F | fistule corde,[11] uerba et similia |
| H | et similia |

| | |
|---|---|
| A | Et opifex quidem musice actiua non format neumas, |
| B | Opifex autem musice activa[12] non format per (?) neupmata[13] |
| D | Opifex itaque huius artis non format neumata[14] |
| F | Artifex practice est qui format neumata |
| H | Artifex autem[15] est ille qui[16] practice format neumata[17] |

| | |
|---|---|
| A | et armonias, et omnia accidentia eorum, nisi secundum |
| B | et armonias[18] et alia accidentia eorum nisi[19] [ubi sunt][20] |
| D | et armonias et alia eorum accidentia nisi secundum |
| F | et armonias et alia accidencia eorum secundum |
| H | et armonias [et][21] eorum accidentia secundum |

[1] 'vincula' in C
[2] 'uula' in F
[3] 'vasa' in F
[4] ... 'uilla' in G
[5] Not in C
[6] 'nb' in G
[7] Here follows 'organa, uielle, cythara, cytole, psalterium'
[8] Not in C
[9] "chorde" in C
[10] 'alta' in C
[11] "tuba, timpanum" is added in F but omitted in G
[12] 'actiue' in C
[13] 'neumata non format' in C
[14] 'pneumata' in E
[15] Not in K
[16] K adds 'quasi'
[17] 'neupmata' in K
[18] 'harmonias' in C
[19] Not in C
[20] In C but not in B
[21] In K only

| MS | Text |
|---|---|
| A. | quod sunt in instrumentis quorum acceptio . consueta |
| B. | quod sunt [in] [1] instrumentis quorum acceptatio accepta consueta |
| D | quod sunt in instrumentis quorum acceptio consueta |
| F. | quod sunt in instrumentis quorum accepcio assueta [2] |
| H. | |

| MS | Text |
|---|---|
| A. | est in eis Et speculatiua quidem dat scientiam |
| B | est in eis Speculatiua vero dat scientiam |
| D. | est in eis Speculatiua vero dat omnium |
| F | est in eis |
| H. | |

| MS | Text |
|---|---|
| A. | eorum, et sunt rationata, et dat causas totius |
| B | omnium eorum [3] et vero [4] causas omnes eius |
| D. | eorum scientiam et rationes et causas, omnes eius [5] |
| F | |
| H | |

| MS | Text |
|---|---|
| A | ex quo componuntur armonie, non secundum quod sunt in materia, |
| B | ex quo componuntur armonia [6] et [7] non secundum quod sunt in materia |
| D | ex quo componitur armonia [8] non secundum quod sunt in materia |
| F. | |
| H | |

| MS | Text |
|---|---|
| A | et materia, imo absolute, et secundum quod sunt |
| B | imo absolute et [9] secundum quod sunt [10] |
| D | sed absolute secundum quod remota |
| F | |
| H | |

| MS | Text |
|---|---|
| A | remota ab omni instrumento et materia, et accipit |
| B | remota ab [omni] [11] instrumento et materia et accipit [12] |
| D | sunt ab [omni] [13] instrumento et materia,[14] et accipit |
| F. | |
| H. | |

[1] Not in C
[2] Same in G
[3] "eorum omnes" in E
[4] Not in C
[5] "eius omnes" in E
[6] "harmoniae" in C
[7] Not in C.
[8] "componuntur armonie" in E
[9] "vel" in C
[10] Not in C
[11] In C but not in B
[12] "accepta" in C.
[13] In E but not in D
[14] "mō"

A. ea recundum quod sunt audita secundum communiter ex quocunque
B. ea secundum quod sunt audita ex [1] quocunque [2]
D ea secundum quod audita sunt . .
F. . . .
H. .

A instrumento accidat, et ex quocunque corpore
B in instrumento [vel ex quocunque] [3] corpore [4]
D ex instrumento, vel ex quocunque tempore [5]
F.
H

A. accidat Et diuiditur scientia musice speculatiua,
B accidunt [6] Speculatiua vero [7] dividitur
D accidunt Hec autem id est speculatiua dividitur
F
H

A in partes magnas quinque
B in quinque magnas partes [8]
D in quinque partes magnas
F Partes uero theorice sunt quinque
H

A Prima eorum, est sermo de principiis et primis
B Quarum prima est doctrina [9] de principiis et [de] [10] primis
D Prima [11] est de principiis,
F Quarum prima est doctrina [11] de principiis et primis
H

A quorum proprietas est ut administrentur in inuentione
B quorum proprietas vero [12] administrentur in acceptione
D quorum proprietas est vt administrentur in acceptione
F que debent administrari in accepcione
H

[1] Not in C
[2] "conuinciit" in C
[3] In C but not in B
[4] "chordae" in C
[5] Same in E
[6] "occidant" in C
[7] "autem" in C
[8] "partes magnas" in C
[9] "doctrina" omitted in C
[10] In C but not in B
[11] "Prima pars" in E
[12] See Baur
[13] "est, vt" in C

A eius quod est in hac scientia, et qualiter sit modus in
B eius quod est in hac scientia [et] [1] qualiter sit modus [2] in
D eius quod est in hac [3] scientia et qualiter sit mundus [4] in
F eius quod est in hac sciencia, et quomodo eciam
H

A administratione illorum principiorum, et qua uia
B administratione illorum principiorum et qua via [5]
D acceptione principiorum illorum,[6] et qualiter [7]
F administrentur illa principia, et qualiter
H

A inuenta sit hec ars, et ex quibus rebus, et ex quot rebus
B inventa sit hec ars et ex quibus rebus et quot
D inuenta sit hec ars et ex quibus rebus et quot
F inuenta sit hec ars, et ex quibus et ex quot
H

A componatur, et qualiter oportet ut sit inquisitor
B componatur et qualiter [enim] [8] oportet inquiri
D componatur
F componatur et qualiter oportet inquiri
H

A de eo quod est in ea Et secunda est sermo
B id [9] quod est in ea Secunda [vero] [10] est [doctrina] [11]
D Secunda uero doctrinalis est
F id quod est in ea. Secunda est doctrina
H Partes theorice sunt [12]

A de dispositionibus huius artis, et est sermo in
B de dispositionibus huius artis scilicet
D de dispositionibus huius artis scilicet
F de disposicionibus huius artis, scilicet
H de dispositionibus hujus artis

[1] In C but not in B
[2] "sit modus" not in C
[3] "hoc" in E.
[4] Same in E.
[5] "quare" for "qua via" in C
[6] Same phrase in E
[7] "quare" for "qualiter" in E.
[8] In C but not in B
[9] "aliud" in C
[10] In C but not in B
[11] In C but not in B
[12] Cf. J.

A inueniendo neumas, et cognitione numerum neumatum quot
B inveniendi neupmata et cognoscendi numeros eorum quot
D inueniendi neumata et [1] cognoscendi numeros
F inueniendi n umata et cognoscendi numeros eorum quot
H inveniendi neumata,[2] et cognoscendi numeros eorum quot

A sint, et quot species eorum, et declaratione proportionum
B sint et quot species eorum, et declarandi proportiones
D ac species eorum, et declarandi proportiones
F sunt et species eorum, et declarandi proporciones
H sunt et species eorum,[3] et declarandi proportiones

A quarundam ad alias, et demonstrationum
B quarundam [ab illis] [4] ad alias et demonstrationes
D eorum ad inuicem [5]
F quarundam ad alias et demonstraciones
H quarundam ad alias denumerationes [6]

A super omnia illa et sermo de speciebus
B de omnibus [communibus] [7] illis, et docet species
D Docet etiam species
F de omnibus illis et docet species
H de omnibus aliis [8] et docere [9] species

A ordinis eorum et situum ipsorum quibus sunt preparantur
B ordinum et situum illorum [10] quibus preparantur
D ordinum ac situum [11] eorum quibus preparantur
F ordinum et situum [12] eorum quibus preparantur
H ordinum et situum eorum [13] quibus preparantur

A ut accipiat acceptor ex eis quod uult, et componat
B ut acceptor accipiat ex eis quod vult et componat
D ut acceptor accipiat ex eis quod vult et componat
F et [14] unusquisque accipiat ex eis quod uult et componat
H ut accipiat [15] ex eis [quod vult [16] et componat [17]

[1] "Not in F"
[2] "neupmata" in K
[3] "et quod sunt species eorum" in J
[4] In C but not in B
[5] Same in F
[6] "demonstrationes" in J and K
[7] In C but not in B
[8] "illis" in J and K
[9] Same in J and K
[10] "eorum" in C
[11] "sectionum" in C
[12] "situm" in Baur
[13] "eorum situum" in K
[14] "ut" and "aut" in Baur
[15] "accipiator" in K
[16] "placet" in K
[17] "componatur" in K

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A. | ex eis | armonias | Et tertia est | sermo | de |
| B. | ex eis | armonias [1] | Tertia vero doctrina [est] [2] | | de |
| D | ex eis | armonias | Tertia | est [3] | de |
| F | ex eis | armonias | Tertia est | doctrina | de |
| H. | ex eis] [4] | armonias [5] | | | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| A. | conuenientia que declaratur in radicibus | | cum |
| B | convenientia | principiorum | in |
| D | conuenientia | principiorum | in |
| F | conueniencia | principiorum | et de |
| H | | | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A | sermonibus et demonstrationibus | super species |
| B | sermonibus et demonstrationibus [6] | super species |
| D | sermonibus et demonstrationibus | super species |
| F | sermonibus et demonstracionibus | specierum et [7] |
| H | | |

| | |
|---|---|
| A | instrumentorum artificialium que preparantur eis et |
| B. | instrumentorum artificialium que preparantur eis et de |
| D | instrumentorum artificialium que preparantur eis, et de |
| F | instrumentorum artificialium que preparantur eis, et de |
| H | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A. | acceptione | eorum omnium | in ea, | et situ ipsorum | in ea |
| B | acceptione [8] | omnium eorum | [in ea] [9] | et situ eorum | [in ea] [10] |
| D | acceptione | omnium eorum | | ac situ eorum | in ea |
| F | accepcione | ominum eorum | in ea | et situ ipsorum | in ea |
| H | | | | | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| A | secundum mensurationem et ordinem | qui declaratur | in |
| B | secundum mensurationem et ordinem | que assignantur | in |
| D | secundum mensurationem et ordinem | que in principiis | |
| F | secundum mensuracionem | que assignatur | in |
| H | | | |

[1] "harmonias" in C
[2] In C but not in B
[3] Not in E.
[4] In J but not in H
[5] "harmonias" in J
[6] "demonstrationes" in C
[7] Not in Baur
[8] "actione" in C
[9] In C but not in B
[10] In C but not in B

A. radicibus Et quarta est sermo de speciebus
B principiis Quarta scientia [1] est doctrina de speciebus
D. assignantur Quarta est de speciebus
F principiis Quarta est doctrina de speciebus

casuum naturalium qui sunt pondera neumatum
casuum priorum [2] naturalium que sunt pondera pneumatum [3]
casuum naturalium que sunt pondera neumatum
casuum naturalium que sunt pondera neumatum

Et quinta est de compositione
Quinta est doctrina de compositione
Quinta uero [est] [4] de compositione
Quinta est doctrina de compositione

armoniarum in summa deinde de compositione
armoniarum [5]
armoniarum
armoniarum in summa, deinde de composicione

armoniarum integrarum, et sunt ille que
integrarum scilicet (?) que
integrarum scilicet illarum que
armoniarum integrarum, scilicet illarum que

sunt posite in sermonibus metricis, compositis secundum
sunt composite [6] in sermonibus metricis compositis secundum
posite sunt in sermonibus metricis secundum
sunt posite in sermonibus metricis compositis secundum

Not in C
Not in C
'neumatum' in C
In E but not in D
[5] "harmoniarum" in C
[6] "positae" in C
Same in E

A. ordinem, et ordinationem, et qualitate artis eorum secundum
B. ordinem et ordinationem [et] [1] qualitatis [2] artis eorum secundum
D . ordinationem et qualitatem artis eorum
F. ordinem et ordinacionem et qualitatem artis eorum secundum
H

A unamquamque intentionem [3] armoniarum et docet
B unamquamque intentionem armoniarum [4] et docet
D compositus Et docet
F unamquamque intencionem armoniarum, et docet
H.

A. dispositiones quibus fiunt penetrabiliores, et magis
B quomodo fiunt penetrabiliores et magis
D quomodo [5] penetrabiliores fiunt [6] et magis
F quomodo fiant penetrabiliores et magis
H

A ultime in ultimitate intentionis ad quam facte sunt
B ultime scilicet in ultimitate intentionis ad quam facte sunt
D vltime scilicet in vltimitate [7] intentionis ad quam facte sunt
F ultime in ultimitate intencionis ad quam facte sunt
H

## § VII

### The Influence in Europe

The influence of the *De scientiis* on the scholars of the Middle Ages was far-reaching,[8] and the work appears to have become almost as "indispensable" in the Christian schools as it was in those of the Muslims, although the *De divisione philosophiae* of Gundissalinus, which contained most of it, was probably quite as popular

Daniel of Morlay, who was in Toledo in 1175 as a pupil of Gerard of Cremona, was probably responsible for the introduction of the *De scientiis* of Al-Fārābī and the

[1] In C but not in B
[2] "qualitatem" in C
[3] Text has "intentionum"
[4] "harmoniarum" in C
[5] "quando" in E
[6] Same in E
[7] "interlimitate" in E
[8] Baur, *Die Philosophie des Robert Grosseteste*, 1917, p 11

*De divisione philosophiae* of Gundissalinus into England. Perhaps they were among the *pretiosa multitudo librorum* which he brought from Spain.[1]

Vincent of Beauvais (*c.* 1190–1264), in his section on music in the *Speculum doctrinale*, quotes almost verbatim from John of Seville's translation of the *De scientiis*, which is used as freely as the works of Boethius, Isidore of Seville, Richard of St. Victor, Guido of Arezzo, and Peter Comestor.[2]

Roger Bacon (*c.* 1214–80) was also deeply indebted to the *De scientiis* which he specially recommends in his *Opus tertium*, Al-Fārābī being mentioned with Euclid, Ptolemy, Censorinus, Albinus, St. Augustine, Martianus Capella, Boethius, and Cassiodorus.[3] The *De ortu scientiarum* of Al-Fārābī is also recommended.[4]

Jerome of Moravia, a musical theorist of the first half of the thirteenth century, also placed the *De scientiis* under contribution in his *Tractatus de musica*. In the chapter entitled *Quid sit musica*, the definition of Al-Fārābī is quoted along with that of Boethius, Isidore of Seville, Guido of Arezzo, Hugh of St. Victor, Richard [of St. Victor], John [Cotto], and John of Garland. Chapter x, which is entitled *De divisione musicae secundum Alpharabium*, is taken up wholly by the section on music from *De scientiis*, although borrowed probably from Vincent of Beauvais.[5]

[1] For evidence of the possibility of Al-Farabian teaching in music being already known in England, see my *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, pp. 268–9.

[2] Lib. xvii, cap. xx et seq.

[3] "Et non solum isti Latini, sed principales auctores, scilicet Ptolomaeus et Euclides et etiam Alpharabius libro *De scientiis*, in hoc concordant . . . Nam musicaliter tractant ista per causarum assignationem, sicut etiam confirmat Alpharabius in libro memorato." *Opus tertium*, cap. lix.

[4] Loc. cit. He also quotes Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) and 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās (Haly): "Et Avicenna primo Artis Medicinae docet quod, inter omnia exercitia sanitatis, cantare melius est," cap. lxxiii. "Nam nunquam bonus erit medicus et perfectus in consideratione pulsuum, nisi sit instructus in proportionibus musicae, sicut docent auctores medicinae, ut Haly in libro *De regimine regali* et multi alii," cap. lix.

[5] Coussemaker, *Script.*, i, 11.

Pseudo-Aristotle is the name given to the author of a treatise on music written about the year 1270[1] At first this work was attributed to Bede, hence the name Pseudo-Bede which is given here, and it was included in the Cologne edition of his works published in 1612. Since the time of Bottée de Toulmon (*d* 1850) it has been recognized as a pseudograph[2] The author draws on the *De scientiis* through the *De divisione philosophiae* of Gundissalinus

Simon of Tunstede (*d* 1369) is generally considered to have been the author of the *Quatuor principalia musicae* (written in 1351) printed by Coussemaker[3] Chapters xiii to xvii are based almost verbally on Pseudo-Aristotle (= Pseudo-Bede) who borrowed from Gundissalinus, whose original authority was the *De scientiis* of Al-Fārābī

Raimon Lull (*c* 1235–1315), the mystic, who was also an Arabist, seems to show acquaintance with a definition in the *Ihsā' al-'ulūm* when he says "*Musica is duplex naturalis et artificialis*"[4] His contemporary, Johannes Ægidius Zamorensis (*c* 1270), another Spanish theorist, also uses it[5] Indeed, there are reasons for suspecting that Johannes Cotto (twelfth century) and Adam de Fulda (fifteenth century) were also influenced by it[6] If Johannes Cotto did borrow from, or was influenced by, the *Ihsā' al-'ulūm*, then his *Epistola ad fulgentium*, generally assigned to the year 1100, must be given a date later than the mid-twelfth century, when the Latin *De scientiis* appeared, unless, of course, Johannes Cotto had been influenced by oral Al-Fārābīan teaching[7] Al-Fārābī still continued to interest Europe

[1] Johannes Wolf says "about 1242" (*Handbuch der Notationskunde*, i, 242, 247) Both Eitner (*Quell.-Lex*) and Grove (*Dict Mus*) say twelfth century, which is too early

[2] Coussemaker, *Script*, i (6) See Farmer, *Historical Facts* . . , 218

[3] Coussemaker, iv (2)

[4] Lull, *Opera* (1617), 209 Cf Regino Prumiensis in Gerbert's *Scriptores eccles de musica* . (1784), i, 232, 236.

[5] Gerbert, op cit, ii, 378, 392

[6] Gerbert, op cit., iii, 333

[7] See my *Historical Facts* .., p 269.

until the opening of the sixteenth century, as we know from Reisch's *Margarita philosophica* (1496) and Valla's *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus* (1501)[1]

As I have pointed out elsewhere,[2] the intrinsic value of the *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm* to the European theorist in music was inconsiderable. Its real use was that it called attention to the "Arabian Sciences", as they were called, which European students were busy acquiring. It doubtless led these students who, as Ibn al-Ḥijārī says, had "flocked from all parts of the world" to Muslim Spain, to consult, or be instructed from, the various works in Arabic on music, such as those by Al-Kindī (d. 874), Thābit ibn Qurra (d. 901), Qustā ibn Lūqā (d. 932), Al-Fārābī (d. 950), Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037), Abū l-Ṣalt Umayya (d. 1134), Ibn Bājja (d. 1138), and Ibn Rushd (d. 1198), as well as the writings of Aristoxenus, Aristotle, Euclid, Nicomachus, and Ptolemy which, although unknown in Latin, were available in Arabic.

Whether any of these works were translated from Arabic into Latin we do not know.[3] It is possible that the sections on the science of music from the *Shifā'* and *Najāt* of Ibn Sīnā may have been known in Latin.[4] The *madkhal* or introduction to the *Kitāb al-mūsīqī* of Al-Fārābī was certainly known in Hebrew. There can be little doubt, however, that Christian Europe was influenced by the Arabic theorists and mensural music with its rhythmic modes and the *ochetus* or *hocket*, was one of the benefits derived, as I first showed in this *Journal* in 1925.[5]

[1] Reisch says "Denique Alfarabio auctore per harmonias, gratiâ contemplationis et divinarum scientiarum, studia non mediocriter juvantur" *Lib. v. tract. i. cap. i.*

[2] Farmer, *The Arabian Influence on Musical Theory*, 15.

[3] There is no ground for the wide statement made by J. B. Trend on this question in *The Legacy of Islām* (pp. 17–18).

[4] Other portions of both of these works were translated into Latin.

[5] Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, ii, 25.

# The Vannic Inscription of Nor-Bajazet

By A H SAYCE

IN 1927 an inscription of the Vannic King Rusas I was discovered by the Armenian Archæological Commission at Nor-Bajazet on Lake Gotcha Its decipherment has been attempted by several Armenian and Russian Vannic scholars and it has been made the subject of an interesting article by one of our leading Hittite decipherers, Professor Friedrich (*Archiv Orientální*, iii, 2, p 257). Unfortunately the younger decipherers do not always show themselves acquainted with the older work on the subject or with the script and character of other forms of cuneiform Nor do they always remember that common-sense is a necessary preliminary to any attempt at the decipherment of ancient texts

The new text is difficult and Professor Friedrich's interpretation of it is not very successful, as his division of the sentences in it is incorrect My own rendering is as follows —

1 *AN Khal-di-ni-ni us-ma-si-ni* ]*Ru-ša-s*
To the Khaldis-gods, the powerful, Rušas

2. ]*AN RI-du-ri-khi-ni-s a-li SARRU MAT U-e-li-khi*
son of Sarduris says The king of the Uelians

3 *ka-ru-bi ARAD-as-tu-bi MAT-ni e-di-ni*
I conquered, I reduced his (?) country to servitude
*ta-am-khu-bi*
I appointed (?)

4. *NISU EN-NAM e-di-a te-ru-bi AN Khal-di-ni-li*
a governor over it (?). I set up Khaldis-
*KA-MES*
gates.

5. *Ē-GAL ba-du-si-e si-di-is-tu-bi te-ru-bi*
The palace which was ruined I restored. I established
*ti-i-ni*
the name

6. *AN Khal-di-e-i* *ALU MAT Bi-a-i-na-u-e*
of Khaldis, (being) of the city of the Vannic land
*us-ma-a-se*
the master,

7 *MAT NAKRU na-a-pa-khi-a-i-di* ☐ *Ru-śa-ni*
of a foreign land in the territory (?), (belonging to) Rusas
☐ *AN Sar-du-ri-khi*
son of Sarduris,

8 *SARRU DAN-NU a-lu-s ebani Bi-a-i-ni-li*
the powerful king who to the land of Van
*nu-ul-du-a li*
is returned

1 "The Khaldis gods" correspond to the Elim and Elohim of the Phoenician and Aramaic texts (see Cook, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, 10, 2, 69, 20, etc)

3, 4 The signification of *edini* and *edia* is undetermined In the Kelishin inscription (l 14) *ulqusiani e[dini]* is rendered by the Assyrian *[ana] put balâdhi su* "in view of his life", and I have therefore translated it "for the sake of" Professor Friedrich proposes to see in it the equivalent of the Assyrian *istu libbi edia* being *ana libbi* But I am now doubtful whether it is really a postposition and not rather a pronominal form, *ulqusiani* being a dative corresponding to *ana put* and *edi ni* corresponding to the pronominal *-su*. Unfortunately most of the passages in which the word occurs are either mutilated or contain words of unknown signification On the other hand, the natural sense of *edia* would be "there". Cf xlv 17 *EN-NAM MES esi-a terubi* "governors of the place I set up

6. *Usmase* is defectively written for the usual *usma-si-e* and *usmasi-i e* At the end of a word *-se* properly represents *-s*[1] Similarly I believe that *-ni* represents *n* (and perhaps also *s*) in the declension of the noun and adjective, as *-li* also may do *II SARRU-MES-li-li edi-ni* "their(?) 2 kings"

[1] It is possible that this is also the case here, *usmas* representing the nominative of the verb *terubi* in the preceding line

in xxx, 24 (Lehmann-Haupt *Corpus*, 27, 24), for instance, being pronounced *erdil edi-ni*.

7 Professor Friedrich is certainly right in regarding the second character as the ideograph *PAP*. *Nâpa-khia-di* is found elsewhere only in xcvii M, 16 (Lehmann-Haupt, *Corpus*, xxvii, A 2, 16), where I have divided the words erroneously: the reading is *MAT Biaina-ue usmâse-e MAT Luluina-ue nápá-khi-ai-di* "to the mighty (god) of Van in the territory of Lulu" (i e the Lulubi of the Assyrians) The analogy of other inscriptions indicates that *Ruša-ni* (or *Rušan* ?) agrees with *Khaldinini* (or *Khaldinni*) in the first line

8 Professor Friedrich is also certainly right in seeing in *alus* the ordinary relative pronoun But I am doubtful about this being the last line of the inscription, a comparison with the Topzawa inscription (*JRAS*, 1906, p 625) would seem to indicate that we ought to have some word after it like *zel-du-bi* Neither the root nor the signification, unfortunately, of the Assyrian equivalent of the latter is known with certainty, Professor Lehmann-Haupt reads *ušiq* and accordingly translates "I narrowed", but the Vannic word looks like a compound of *du-* and *zil(bi)* "name", "seed", or, as I formerly supposed, of *zel(di)*, which is coupled with *barzani* "a chapel" in xix, 9, liv, 3 In any case, *nuldûli* is rendered by the Assyrian *irtidi* "I went (down" or "back") The ideograph *uri* here is, of course, not *Akkadu* "Babylonia", but *Urdhu* "Ararat" (rendered Tilla "the Highlands", *WAI*, ii, 48, 13)[1] Professor Gotze has pointed out that in verbal forms in *-u-li*, it is the first person only which terminates in *-u-li*, the 3rd person being *-ua-li* or *-ua-li* The form appears to denote the uncompleted perfect as opposed to the aorist in *-li*

In continuation of my former notation the present inscription will be No CI.

[1] *URI* is also stated to be *Amurrû* (*CT* xi, 15, ii, 5) Since Amurrû denoted the country west of the Euphrates this is difficult to explain unless *Amurrû* here represents Murrû (usually misread Khurrû), that is to say northern Mesopotamia *URI* might stand for Wuri, Muri



# MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

## HATHUR AND ARURA

Hathur and Arura are at present two villages in the Panjab, which have important history behind them. Hathur is situated about 12 miles from the town of Jagrāon, in the district of Ludhiana Its ancient name was Arhatpura, there Mahâvira, the great teacher of Jainism, passed in religious meditation the four months from July to October, the period which in India is known as *Chumâsa* (Sk. *Chaturmâsa*) and during which Hindu ascetics of almost all denominations abstain from their usual wanderings, remain in one place, and engage in spiritual practices Mahâvira is said to have breathed his last in the year 527 B C, and from that time the place grew into importance, with the result that a big town was established there The town of Arhatpura, which derived its name from Arhat, the honorific title of Mahâvira, was in a flourishing condition in the time of king Azes I, whose coins are still discovered in its ruins It appears that the prosperity of the town continued till the fifteenth century, when it was under the sway of the Muhammadan Rajputs of Raikoṭ Thereafter, with the growth of Jagrāon and Raikoṭ, Arhatpura lost its importance and dwindled to a village The people, for the sake of convenience, turned the name Arhatpura into Hathur, analogous changes have befallen other places in the Panjab, for example —

| *Ancient Name* | *Modern Name* |
|---|---|
| Chandrataṭa | Chaniot |
| Lavapura | Lahore |
| Kuśapura | Kasur |
| Upaplavya | Palwal |
| Gurugrâma | Gurgaon |

Researches in the history of Jainism have established beyond all doubt that Mahâvira, the 24th Tîrthaṅkara,

was not the founder of that religion, inasmuch as the existence of his predecessor, Pârśva Nâtha, the 23rd Tîrthankara, is quite established. Pârśva Nâtha can now safely be considered as the founder of Jainism, which underwent marked developments from the teachings of Mahâvîra. The time when Mahâvîra flourished is stated in the following ślokas of the Sanskrit manuscript *Gurjara-Deśa-Bhûpâvalî*, to which I made a detailed reference in my paper on the Samvat Era read before the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, and published in the Asiatic Quarterly Review of January April, 1893, page 363 :--

> वीरतीर्थपतिराप निर्वृतिं
> यत्र तत्र धरणीधरो निशि ।
> पालकाह्वयनृपोऽजनि क्षितौ
> षष्टिवर्षमितराज्यपालकः ॥ २ ॥
>
> वीरमोक्षाच्च सप्तत्या युते वर्षचतुःशते ।
> अतीते विक्रमादित्य उज्जयिन्यामभूदिति ॥ १२ ॥[1]

Arura, whose ancient name is Ahichhattâ, lies a little north of the village of Bhadaur (Patiala territory) at a distance of 8 miles from Hathur. Ahichhattâ is a corrupt form of the Sanskrit name Ahichhattrâ, mentioned in the last portion of chapter 140 of the Âdi Parva of the *Mahâbhârata* (Calcutta edition). A local tradition, which is well supported by the literature of Jainism, is to the effect that Pârśva Nâtha was miraculously protected at that place by a serpent during a great flood of water. The serpent kept Pârśva Nâtha fixed on the ground by means of its tail, and brought its hood over his head to serve as an umbrella. As a result of his vast study, a reference is made to this miracle by Mr. Thomas

[1] Translation —

2 During the very night when Lord Vira breathed his last one named Pálaka became king of the land. He reigned for sixty years.

12 In the kingdom of Ujjayini flourished Vikramaditya, four hundred and seventy years after the death of Vira.

Note. 470 before Vikramaditya corresponds to 527 B.C.

in his *Life of Buddha as Legend and History* on page 232. As this religious teacher was protected and saved by a serpent, the place where the event took place bore the name of Ahichhattrâ (*ahi*, serpent, *chhattra*, umbrella). Through lapse of time this Sanskrit name has assumed the corrupt form Ahichhattâ Locally the place is called by some people Aichhattâ Nagari. A few explorers of Indian history are inclined to think that Hathur and Ahichhattâ are one and the same place, but in reality they were different places, and a distance of 8 miles existed between them Pârśva Nâtha selected the site of Ahichhattrâ for his spiritual meditation, and it was during that meditation that his protection by the serpent is alleged to have taken place Mahâvira, on account of his great regard for his predecessor, looked upon Ahichhattrâ as a place of much sanctity, and selected for his own spiritual meditation a site not very far from it Mahâvira's place secured an independent sanctity, and bore the name of Arhatpura quite distinct from that of Ahichhattrâ In ancient geography only one place in India bore the name Ahichhattrâ, to which a reference is made in the *Mahâbhârata* as I have stated above Jainism, no doubt, took its rise long after the actual war of the *Mahâbhârata*, and we cannot believe that a town of the name of Ahichhattrâ existed at the time of that war The author of the present epic *Mahâbhârata* brings in the name Ahichhattrâ when he describes the story of partition of the country of Pañchâla between Drupada and Droṇa through the agency of Arjuna. It can reasonably be inferred that Jainism existed before the *Mahâbhârata* in its present form was composed Having in view the general style and diction of the book, as also the post-epical ideas which are incorporated therein, I see reason to believe that it was composed long after the war but not later than the third century B C I quote for facility of reference the ślokas of the *Mahâbhârata* mentioning the names of the town of Ahichhattrâ and of the country of Ahichhattra .—

द्रुपदश्च परीप्सन् वै पृथिवीमभ्यसञ्चरत् ।
अहिच्छत्रञ्च विषयं द्रोणः समभिपद्यत ।
एवं राजन्नहिच्छत्रा पुरी जनपदायुता ।
युधि निर्जित्य पार्थेन द्रोणाय प्रतिपादिता ॥ [1]

Besides the point of chronology chapter 140 of the Âdi Parva of the *Mahâbhârata*, considered along with the local tradition mentioned above, may help us much in fixing the northern boundary of the old country of Pañchâla. After the battle alluded to in the above *ślokas* this well-known country was divided in two equal portions. South Pañchâla was approximately the portion of Pañchâla south of the Ganges as far as the River Charmanvati (Chambal), and its capitals were Kâmpilya and Mâkandi. North Pañchâla was the portion north of the Ganges, with its capital at Ahichhattrâ, whence it was called the Ahichhattra country. From these data it can fairly be concluded that the country of North Pañchâla lay to the north and west of the country of the Kurus and included a portion of the Panjab now occupied wholly or partly by the Cis-Sutlej Indian States, and the British districts of Ludhiana and Ambala. In this view I am supported by the following Sanskrit quotation, which I have read under the word Pañchâla in the lexicon known as *Śabda kalpa druma*, whose author took it from a book on the Tantra Śâstra :-

कुरुक्षेत्रात् पश्चिमेषु [2] तथा चोत्तरभागतः ।
इन्द्रप्रस्थाच्चाशीति दशयोजनवर्त्तके ।
पञ्चालदेशो देवेशि सौन्दर्यगर्वभूषितः ॥ [3]

[1] Translation

Drupada wandered over the earth to find means of securing a son (who would defeat Drona) and Drona occupied the country of Ahichhattra.

It was in this way that Arjuna won in battle the town of Ahichhattrâ, together with the country and made it over to Drona.

[2] Another lexicon *Śabdârtha-chintâmani kosa*, reads पश्चिमेषु as पश्चिमे तु

[3] Translation

O Parvati ! to the west of Kuruksetra to the north a distance of 80 *kos* from Indraprastha, lay the country of Pañchâla, adorned with pride and beauty.

Within the distance of [illegible] exist even down to this time beautiful gardens known as Panjaur, near Kalka (Patiala territory), which show the art and skill of engineers of the Hindu period of Ancient history The Mughal emperors of India copied the style of Panjaur and constructed Shalimar gardens in Śrinagar (Kashmir) and Lahore The name Panjaur seems to have an affinity with the name of the country (Pañchâla) in which the gardens existed It is worth consideration how far we can rely upon the position of the ancient town of Ahichhattrâ, fixed by Mr V A Smith on his map attached to page 287 of *Early History of India*

To fix the geographical position of towns and countries of Ancient India is fraught with much difficulty I am inclined to think that much assistance in this respect can be rendered by local traditions, if they are carefully studied and sifted After all we have to bid farewell to the accuracy of the well-known dictum that civilization leads to historical truth, since it has so often been found that tradition is more trustworthy than record

JWALA SAHAI MISRA.

AMRITSAR

*17th December, 1931*

# NOTICES OF BOOKS

## Marco Polo[1]

The story of the Polo family begins with the three brothers Marco, Nicolo (father of the great traveller), and Matteo, and their sister Flora. No corroboration seems to have been found of Ramusio's statement that they were the children of Andrea Polo of the parish of S. Felice. They were Venetians, where there is some reason to think that their home was in the parish of S. Severo, but the brothers' business was chiefly in the East, with depots at Constantinople and at Soldaia (Sudaq). In his will of 27th August, 1280, Marco describes himself as "once of Constantinople", and his son Nicolo the younger was then living at Soldaia. We shall very likely be right in regarding Marco, when the brothers first come on the scene, as the resident manager of a settled business house at Constantinople, while his younger brothers were the travelling partners of this "brotherly company", but the long absence of twenty-four years which was to follow must have automatically dissolved the partnership, and there is no sign that Marco or his heirs shared in the profits or losses of his brothers' great adventure. Some confusion or misunderstanding of the opening chapter of *Marco Polo* has caused

[1] "Marco Polo e la sua famiglia," by Giovanni Orlandini, in *Archivio Veneto Tridentino*, vol. ix, pp. 1–68, Venice, 1926.

*Marco Polo, Il Milione prima edizione integrale*, edited by Luigi Foscolo Benedetto. 14 × 9¾, pp. v–ccxxi, 3–281, pls. 11, edition of 600 numbered copies. Florence, 1928. 600 *l*.

*The Travels of Marco Polo*. Translated into English from the text of L. F. Benedetto, by Professor Aldo Ricci, with an introduction and index by Sir E. Denison Ross. 9 × 5¾, pp. xiv + 439, illustrations 7, maps 4. London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1931. £1 1*s*.

*Marco Polo*. Il libro di Messer Marco Polo Cittadino di Venezia detto Milione dove si raccontano Le Meraviglie del Mondo. *Ricostruito criticamente e per la prima volta integralmente tradotto in lingua italiana da* Luigi Foscolo Benedetto. 9½ × 6½, pp. xi–xxiv, 456, map. Milan: Treves-Treccani-Tumminelli, 1932. 40 *l*.

it to be widely believed that it says that Nicolo and Matteo left Constantinople for Soldaia and the East in 1250, and that date has in consequence been corrected to 1260 In fact, while some MSS say they "were there" in 1250, some say more or less explicitly that they left Venice for Constantinople in 1250 or 1252 (P) The further undated move from Constantinople to Soldaia may well have been in 1260, a date perhaps slightly more probable than Orlandini's 1261, when the Venetian colony at Constantinople was temporarily dispersed a year fatal to Venetian supremacy in the East, but far from fatal to the enterprise of the two brothers who went on by slow stages, forced eastward by circumstances, till they reached Kubilai's summer court at Shang-tu Thence they were sent back as envoys to the Pope, and reached Acre in April and Venice probably in the summer of 1269. Here again the French MSS read 1260 but the correction to 1269, given by one Venetian MS at least, rests securely on the known dates of the death of one Pope and the election of his successor At Venice Nicolo found that his wife was dead and had left him a son named Marco, now 15 years of age This gives the impression that it was the first that Nicolo had heard of his son If the two brothers had left Venice late in 1252, Marco might have been born so long after his father's departure as indeed some of the Venetian texts and *R* state that he had not reached his sixteenth birthday by the summer of 1269 But the dates and facts of this first journey must be examined and accepted with caution Between the start from Constantinople and the

[1] The principal MSS mentioned below are *F* (Paris, B N, fr 1116, Franco-Italian early fourteenth century) *F4* (ibid, fr 2631, French, fourteenth century) *FB* (ibid, fr 2649 French fifteenth century), *TA* (ibid it 434 Italian fourteenth century) *IT* (ibid lat 3195, Latin, fourteenth century) *P* (London B M, Reg 14 C xiii, Latin by Pipino from Venetian fourteenth century the most widely diffused of all the classes of text), *Z* (Milan Ambrosiana, Y 160 part sup Latin, 1795, a certified copy of an old MS now lost) with the printed text *R* (J-B Ramusio, *Navigationi e Viaggi*, vol ii, 1559) See also the list of MSS, pp 017 ff below

return to Venice eight or nine years of travel or of delays are mentioned in the narrative, and it seems to be necessary to suppose that the two brothers reached Bukhara in or about 1262, and left it in 1265 Bukhara "was ruled by a king called Barac", but modern authorities tell us that Barac (Buraq) only began his reign in 1266 The travellers may have accidentally substituted the name of the king who was reigning there on their return journey The question does not seem to have troubled the commentators, and is not dealt with even in Mr Penzer's most admirably lucid introduction to the Argonaut Press *Marco Polo* During his two years stay in Venice, Nicolo married Fiordalisa, daughter of Giordano Trevisan, of whom he had a son Matteo, born presumably about the end of 1271 These facts, correctly guessed by Yule with his usual brilliance, now rest securely on published documents, and indeed on some Venetian MSS Sloane 251, for example, has, "steteno do anj in Va aspetando la elezion del nuouo papa nel qual tempo miser nicollo tollse moier essi la laso graueda" In the summer of 1271, the two brothers left Venice again with the young Marco, going this time to Acre and Laias Long delayed by the election of the new Pope on 1st September, they cannot have left Laias finally till near the end of the year, and little did they think that it would be twenty-four years before they could come home They cut themselves off, as has been said above, from their business headquarters which remained under the management of the elder Marco and the younger Nicolo, but they were not forgotten In 1280, Marco made his younger brothers his executors, in evident expectation of their sure return

Ramusio's picturesque story of the travellers' return is often repeated, but is not much supported by the known facts *Marco Polo* itself says simply that they "rode so long day after day, that they reached Trebizond, from Trebizond they passed to Constantinople, from Constantinople to Negropont; and from Negropont to Venice" That is all.

But was it all? Matteo's will—perhaps the most interesting of all the interesting documents unearthed and published by Professor Orlandini—dated 6th February, 1309 (O S., the legal year began at Venice on 1st March), has this passage: "I wish to make known to my executors that I have satisfied the aforesaid Marco Polo my nephew with regard to those 500 pounds which he lent me to be given by me as a loan to the aforesaid Nicolo Polo [his nephew] as I said before, namely [sic] with regard to half of a set jewel which is in the house belonging to me, and with regard to the three tablets of gold which were from the magnificent Chan of the Tartars, and in addition with regard to those 333⅓ pounds which were due to me out of those 1000 pounds (? £233 6s 8d) which the said Marco Polo received from the lord Duke and from the Commune of the Venetians for part of the loss inflicted on us both by the lord Comnenus of Trebizond and in the territory of the same lord Comnenus and also in other affairs of ours And I testify that with regard to all other accounts which I have to make with the said Marco Polo I have satisfied him in full and in future I ought to have the third part of all which shall in any way or under any pretext be received or recovered And I testify that the aforesaid loss inflicted on us as well by the said lord Comnenus of Trebizond as in his territory was in sum about 4000 hyperpera (? £2200)" It is tantalizing that we are not told who were the three on whom the loss was inflicted, or the exact occasion But the dates which are known seem to justify Orlandini's assumption that the trouble occurred when the party reached Trebizond on their way home from China And we may be fairly sure that the three who shared equally in the loss were Nicolo Matteo, and the younger Marco Marco who certainly represents himself as the leading figure in China, and who was of a vigorous and grasping character, may well have insisted on having an equal share of the profits with his father and uncle It was Marco who had actually received the 1000 *l* which had already been recovered On the other hand Matteo's will,

which has been quoted, mentions two other combinations. In the very next sentence he says "When I was in *fraterna compagnia* with the said Marco and Matteo Polo, sons of the late Nicolo once my brother", and here, too, he claims only one third of the property concerned, sharing equally with his two nephews And some way further on in his long will he describes the division of rights in the property in S Giovanni Grisostomo We may conjecture that that property had been bought while Marco was in prison at Genoa The value had apparently been divided into twenty-four equal parts Of these the elder Marco had paid four and a half, and Nicolo and Matteo shared the remainder equally Matteo, who had no children, now bequeaths four parts of his share to his nephews Stefano and Giovannino (Nicolo's natural sons born perhaps in the East), two parts to his nephew Nicolo, and the remainder (three and three-quarters) to his nephew Marco Thus we find Marco already in possession of more than half the property, and lending money to his uncle and other relatives, always, apparently, to his own advantage In July, 1319, he obtained judgement against his cousin Marcolino for repayment of a debt of the latter's father, plus double the fine and interest at 20 per cent for thirteen years And so, while the Polo family was carried on in the male line only through the elder Marco, whose great-great-grandson Marco is mentioned in the fifteenth century, the family fortunes were quickly gathered into the hands of Marco, the traveller, and of his daughter Fantina Some time after his return from the East—whether before or after his imprisonment is not certainly known—Marco married Donata, daughter of Vitale Badoario, by whom he had three daughters, Fantina, Bellela, and Moreta Professor Orlandini has not been led by the study of legal documents to admire Marco's character and he asks us, not unfairly, to observe that in his will (published by Yule) there is no bequest to the cousins whose debts to him had been so severely exacted, nothing, apart from conventional religious bequests, but to his wife and daughters.

The great traveller died at the age of about 70, on 8th January, 1323/4—In nome de Dio 1323 die 8 zener morl miser Marco Polo His will is dated 9th January. This is quite possible, as the clerical notary would begin the day at sunset, but it does show that his will was made at the last moment, and enable us to date his death within a few hours in the late evening of Sunday, 8th January, 1324 His immortal fame rests on his great book, not *The Travels of Marco Polo* but *The Description of the World*, in which he gave at least some information about almost every part of Asia, the islands of Japan, Sumatra, Ceylon, Socotra, and the east coast of Africa, revealing a vast new world to his astonished and incredulous hearers

Marco Polo may be thought to be both fortunate and unfortunate in his editors and translators As regards exposition more fortunate than unfortunate, but as regards the text of the book misfortune preponderates A contemporary book of no special literary pretensions was regarded by medieval copyists and editors in a very different light from a Biblical or classical text, and in spite of—even perhaps because of the popularity of *Marco Polo*, there has survived no single known copy which may claim to be complete or correct Not only so but it appears that there are some errors and omissions which infect every MS which has yet been examined as if the multitude of extant MSS were all ultimately derived from one copy, and that already corrupt The original must have been very long, and not a little dull, and it was apparently written in an uncouth French much mingled with Italian and so each copyist omitted, abridged, made errors and mistranslations, as he saw fit, influenced naturally by his own point of view and immediate purpose. Some were looking for scientific news about the world, some for marvels, some for battle stories and some were interested in the religious state of the world The writer of Z, for example, carefully notes in the margin *adorant ydola* every time that he meets with the monotonous formula "They

are idolaters, are subject to the Great Kaan, and have paper currency," and wherever else idolaters are mentioned.

The whole problem of the manuscripts has been very thoroughly examined by Professor L. F. Benedetto in his long Introduction, the value of which it would be impossible to exaggerate, but he would probably be the first to say that the problem is still unsolved, and that the exact history of the transmission of the text remains a mystery. From his researches, however, a few points emerge with sufficient certainty. Among the 120 or more extant MSS., *F* remains the prince. Any reasonable reconstruction of the text must necessarily take *F* as the foundation. It is the only survivor of what may be called the second or at most the third generation of MSS., taken direct or very nearly direct, from the actual original without change of style or language, and naturally, therefore, with little or no sign of being a translation.[1]

Benedetto, at all events, is convinced that "Franco-Italian" was the original language. But *F* is much abbreviated, not usually by compression of style, but by sheer omission of chapters, paragraphs, sentences, and words, and it is carelessly, if beautifully, written by a scribe who did not know what he was writing, and would put *chant* as clear as print for "hot", and *chaut* for "song". So if *F* is the only possible foundation, there is much need to correct and supplement it. Correction, at least in the smaller details, can perhaps best be done with the help of *FB* or some other of Benedetto's *FG* class (a very early pure French version), but for supplement there are two other principal sources. The first of these is Ramusio's printed text of 1559 (second edition, 1583), which contains long passages of the first

[1] In one place in the chapter on Dagroian *F* has *chouse* and *FB* *robes*. It is hard to see how *FB* can have translated *chouse* (*chose*) into *robes*, but easy for both readings to be derived from an original Italian *robbe*. But this instance stands, as far as I have noticed, alone. And Benedetto in another place suggests that the original may have contained even more Italian than *F* does.

importance which are found in no known manuscript As examples of these passages, the story of the murder of Ahmad may be mentioned, and the long additions to the chapter on Quinsai These passages came from an ancient Latin MS. which Ramusio borrowed from the house of the Ghisi at Venice, and of which nothing seems to have been heard since the sixteenth century The second great source for additions is *Z* This is a transcript finished on 8th July, 1795, of an old Latin MS which cannot now be found It was first examined by Professor Benedetto in the Ambrosiana at Milan, and found to contain in its latter part not only much of the material hitherto peculiar to Ramusio, but also many interesting passages peculiar to itself In *Il Milione* we have then the text of *F* printed far more correctly than it was in 1824 Benedetto has to a certain extent standardized the spelling he has corrected mistakes (almost always noting the original at the foot of the page, and sometimes justifying his correction from another MS), and he has supplied accidental omissions in square brackets Below this we have in small print what purport to be critical notes They do give the original of words which have been corrected in the text but it still seems to me, as I have written elsewhere, that the space wasted in cataloguing the errors of the 1824 edition would have been well used in giving some of the variants of a few good MSS especially in the case of dates and numbers The date of the two brothers return to Acre is correctly given as MCCLX, without note, and in his Introduction to Ricci's English version Sir Denison Ross says that he has admitted the correction to 1269, because 1260 is historically absurd Of the texts available to me at the moment *F*, *FA*, *FB*, read 1260, *LT* 1270, *P*, $TA^2$ 1272, *R* and Sloane 251 (Venetian) 1269, and this information would have been more interesting and valuable than that about the mistakes of 1824 These notes are followed by the additional passages from *R* and *Z*, and many smaller ones from Venetian or Latin texts, or summaries, more or

less allied with *Z*, such as *V*, *VB*, *L*, etc, and a few from the more independent texts such as *FG*. In quoting *Z*, Benedetto has silently corrected the many blunders of that curious text—reading, for instance, *nolens vacare* for *volens vacare*. The total result is that we have before us in large clear print on hand-made paper, the text of *F* correct and complete, and on the same page, arranged with an almost incredible lucidity, the important additions from the other texts; and for this it is impossible for students to be sufficiently grateful to Professor Benedetto. This text is followed by an appendix giving some less important additions from other texts, and by a full and excellent index. The study of the additional passages is most interesting. Most of them fit easily and exactly into their places, so that one feels that *F* + *Z* may sometimes be very much like the actual original, but some give the impression that from a very early date there may have been actually divergent recensions. The combination for example of *F* and *R* in the Quinsai chapter has baffled all previous editors. Benedetto has attempted it in his continuous modern Italian text (known as yet only in Ricci's English version), but he has had to include two contradictory accounts of the public baths!

In so large and intricate a book as *Il Milione* there are bound to be some misprints and slips, and some of those which I have noted are given in no fault-finding spirit, but as a small contribution to the usefulness of so great a work.

p. xxxii, read, I think, securely *monsir Mark & Poule de le melion*.

p. xxxiv (3), Pauthier's *contrescris* is certainly right.

p. lxxvi, for *toins* read *tonis*.

p. lxxvii, is it possible in a fourteenth or fifteenth century MS to distinguish *vies* from *uies*?

p. lxxx, for 1452 read 1458. For dì p. read di 7.

p. xcii, for mori una read morivvi.

p. xciii, for e fferonne read e ffecionne.

p. civ (1), is there not confusion of VA[3] and VA[4]?

**p. cxlvIII**, for 1902 *livre* read 1922 *livro*

**p. clxIV** I have noted "there are some small places where **F** has a French word and Z an Italian —*que—che, dame—donne*"

p. clxvII, is the *al* of *Alochaypay*, *in Alchatai*, and *in Alchali*? Italian (as B. implies) or Arabic?

p. clxxx, for XL read XLI

p. clxxxI for XCIII read XCIV

p. clxxxvII (1) for indefellità read infedellità

p. ccxII, for *Differentia LXII* read *Differentia LXVII*

c. I 23 Rustacians is the only possible reading. B has not quite realized the clear distinction between *u* and *n* in **F** (except in the last part)

c. III 18 au tacsse It seems to me likely that the prototype had *retorner au dereain a uenesse* ("to return at last to Venice"). *au dereain* is supported by *tandem*, which B. quotes from *L*, *a uenesse* by *venetias* (*LT*), the omission of *au dereain* before *auenesse* is easy, and the corruption of *auenesse* to *autaesse* is exactly paralleled in *F* itself (c. CXXXV 27), *lautature* = *lauenture* (B. prints *l'avanture* without note)

c. XXIX 14 (note) read *comment*

c. XXXII 23-4 (note) read *Z* 'tertius de Caxam" I cannot vouch for *L*, I

c. XXXIII 6 tunocain *only* 7 tucoain *only*

c. XXXVII 22 read tonis

c. XXXVII 54 (note) for *maimodi* read *rucumodi* (?) It is unfortunate that maimodi, which B. here corrects to Ruemedan, should have been adopted by Ricci as correct. The original name may have been Rukn udDin, as Mr Penzer suggests

c. XLI 3 (note) M will *not* allow *Desaram* but only *desarain*

c. XLV 9 the MS reads dogaua

c. XLVI *a* read *abundantes*

c. L *a* read *Et illu*

c. LVII 11, *eaue deucres* why not "water in winter"? And read M ha *nin*

c. LVIII (note), for 26 opp read 27 opp

c. LXIX 26 (note), read *feunes*

c LXX 58 (note), read *deus* inv di *deus*

c LXXIX *c* add R

c. LXXX 10, read Sichintingiu or -gui

c LXXX 10 (note), read M e S (p 531) cauli

c XCIV 75–6 (note), for Z read R

c. XCV 8, de jugn *FB*[4] and Pauthier may *FA*[1] moy

c CV *a* (*Z*, 1 6), *sed* must represent *secundum* (*R* · *secondo*)

c CXIX 12, a small addition from *Z* Christiani *Turchi* Nestorini *sed principales sunt ydola adorantes* might have been noted

c CXXII 19, read LX^M—This misprint reappears in Ricci s translation

c CLIV 21–2 (note), Tutti i testi, etc , but *LT* sine salle *dico*—*Z* absque sale *dicit*

c CLVI 34 (note), read *vuqen*

c CLX 31, omit [sus] *monter* here has the sense of *montare* "to weather", "to steer clear of"

c CLXII 2, read e de celz de ceste—the scribe, having written *c celz de celz de ceste*, cancelled the second *celz* by mistake instead of the first In line 3 read probably celz [de ceste] isles

c CXCII 1 (note), read *mogclasio* Mogdaxo (Sir Denison Ross still identifies Mogdasio with Madagascar)

c CXCIV 4 (note), III the first dot has become enlarged, so that it looks like IIII

c CXCIV 19 (note), read *sire dou rauec*

c CXCIV *e*, read *XII vel XIIII*

etc

**The English version by the late Aldo Ricci is very closely connected with Benedetto's edition of the original text. The history of it may be given in the words of the Introduction. "Since the publication of his fine edition Benedetto has made a translation of the Geographic text [*F*] and embodied**

in it the most important additional passages from the other texts. While making his Italian translation he has frequently had recourse to readings in the FG family of MSS not noted in his edition The present volume represents in the main the English translation of his Modern Italian version made by the late Signor Aldo Ricci, whose untimely death occurred shortly after he had completed it This English rendering has since been checked with the original texts by myself in consultation with Professor Benedetto" And "I have not myself seen the Italian version from which Signor Ricci made his translation but I gather that certain differences will be found to exist between that version and the English translation as it now stands This is especially the case in regard to obvious errors in matters of fact for whereas Professor Benedetto has corrected these in his translation with a view to accuracy in the narrative, I have persuaded him to allow me in such cases to adhere to the original readings however faulty, with a view to accuracy in the text

The translation is a remarkable performance and will certainly take precedence of all former translations for purposes of serious study, both for its accuracy and for its completeness It is written in plain, lucid ordinary English, with no ornaments and no archaisms, except an occasional unfortunate *puissant* or *sooth* The translator defends this style as against Yule's in a way with which many will agree His accuracy needs no defence It is naturally difficult to criticize the translation of a translation which has not been seen for one does not know whether he is really criticizing Benedetto's Italian or Ricci's English but when it is said that it is always easy to identify the underlying text and the exact reading adopted in doubtful cases it will be seen that the standard of accuracy could hardly be higher There are naturally a few small slips *pasant* is translated "along the road" (p 99) instead of "grazing , *grosses* is "broad" (p 70) "in breadth' (p 98) instead of 'thick" Some mistakes seem to be due to difficult handwriting Thus "gold

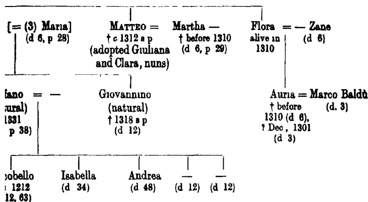
and silver" appears at least four times (pp. 149, 168, 225, 231) for "gold and silk", and to the same cause may be due "spring" (p 207) for "swim", "often" (p 255) for "fifteen". Among pure accidents may be reckoned "thousand" for "hundred" and "sell" for "buy", both on p 147 Sir Denison Ross flattered himself that he had eliminated all Benedetto's wilful corrections of the text except one date, but the Professor has eluded him with "yellow" for "blue" on pages 102, 140, and with "twenty-three pillars" (p 168) where the texts have twenty-four (or thirty-four), and *R* corrects better to *venticinque*, and elsewhere

The style as we have said is clear and good While there is a slight tendency to paraphrase and even to abridge in the many added passages from *Z* and other MSS, the translation of *F* is very exact But Marco Polo is robbed of some of his charm His picturesque points of the compass, named after the sun, stars, and winds appear almost for the first time as dull N E S, W and so on, and on p 284, Ricci, in his zeal to be ordinary even talks of "the stars of the north-west", where it assuredly means "the stars of the Plough"

What is the text which is so well translated? The extract from the Introduction quoted above would lead us to suppose that we have the text of *F* complete and correct with all the important matter from other sources woven in to make a continuous whole And this is approximately the fact, but not exactly In the first place Benedetto and Ricci have renounced once more the idea of giving *F* absolutely complete A passage like "And these same people of whom I have told you have such a usage as I shall tell you For I tell you that when a man And know quite truly that these bacsi of whom I tell you above . . do so great a marvel as I shall tell you I tell you that when " was too much for them, and appears (p 100) as "They also have another custom that I will tell you of . when someone . Know, too, that these *Bacsi*—namely, those I have just spoken of . .

perform a very great wonder, even as I shall tell you. When . . ." So it is throughout the book A more serious loss is when a word or whole sentence of *F* is *exchanged* for the corresponding word or sentence in some other manuscript, and this happens sometimes as often as twice, or even three times, on a page The additions are most important, sometimes filling several consecutive pages, and are on the whole very well done But none of these omissions, substitutions, or additions are marked in any way, and a student can tell almost less well than in Yule's edition what *F* really consists of, and what is its relation to *R* or to *Z* or to any other manuscript Nor are the additions complete Benedetto may fairly claim to have put in all the important passages, but there are many more which while of little intrinsic value may well be genuine parts of the original text We have, after all, what Benedetto thought worthy of inclusion, not everything that could possibly be included, and we have great cause to be thankful that his judgement is so sound, and his workmanship so skilful

The translation, which occupies 408 pages, is printed without note or explanation of any kind It is followed by an index to which notes have been added, so combining index and commentary arranged in alphabetical order—an excellent idea which seems unfortunately to have been carried out with haste The information, being largely derived from Professor Pelliot's published work, is for the most part, of course reliable Mr Perceval Yetts also contributes one or two interesting notes But what with misunderstandings, confusions and misprints, the number of errors small or great is unfortunately large A few examples will be enough. That a place hitherto known as Chinginju (Tinghingui, etc ) should suddenly appear as Canju seems to call for explanation, but the older name is not once mentioned We are, however, told *on Pelliot's authority* that the place must no more be identified with Ch'ang-chou but with Chên-ch'ao. What Pelliot and I myself have remarked is that the story




(1) Ranuzzo Dolfin = (2) Tomaso Gradenigo
alive 1336 (d 35) † before Sept, 1337 (d 38) — (d 55)

-Marcello (?) (d 55)

Cateruccia, alive 1380 (d 74)

**Note** —The order of seniority is uncertain in several cases

[*To face p.* 616.

of Kubilai's troops being massacred by the Chinese when they were drunken is told in the *Yuan shih* not of Ch'ang-chou but of Chên-ch'ao The rest of Marco Polo's story is exactly corroborated by the *Yuan shih* and by contemporary documents and the identification with Ch'ang-chou is as certain as any in the whole work The reference is given as "*See* Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, 1914, p 21" *T'oung Pao*, 1914, is a convenient way of referring to Pelliot's brilliant article, "Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extrême-Orient," but p 21 is the page in the separate reprint, and not in "*T'oung Pao*, 1914", and finally the index reference to p 231 where Canju is described in this book is omitted! "Gat-paul" has an interesting note (unconsciously repeating much that appeared recently in *Notes and Queries*), and a reference to p 328 But the word does not occur in the book at all, its place being taken by "apes" on p 328 and on p 352 Proper names—this applies to the whole book—are as a rule spelled on Yule's principle, so as to enable the English reader to reproduce the Italian sounds—*ju* for *giu*, *chu* for *ciu*, and so on, but there are some anomalies Carachoco is kept in its original form instead of Caracojo or Caracozo Cuigui is identified with Kuei-chou, but yet spelled Chuju instead of Cuiju. Thai is retained, though *R* correctly intended the sound of English *tie*, not *thy*, and Choncha for Konka No convincing explanation of this name has yet been published Perhaps the least bad is that Choncha should be Chochan (a very common transposition), and that Chochan is a reasonably good transcription of Hok-kien the local sound of 福建 Fu-chien *R* has also Cangiu and *VB* Cagui for Fu-chou, and it is just here that Marco Polo tells us about the dialects of spoken Chinese Sachiu should be Sachu or Saju. In Ha-ch'a-mu-tuan, read -tun French *tuen* is Wade's *tun*, not *tuan*. "Nankin, Nan-ching—An-ch'ing" will not do Nankin represents *either* Nan-ching (K'ai-fêng) *or* An-ch'ing in An-hui A neglected reading of *Z* which puts Nankin "in confinibus Manzi" seems rather to support the

old identification with K'ai-fêng It is unfortunate that the dates of Chinghis, Mongu, and Kubilai, and of the publication of the Geographic Text (*F*) should be among the misprints. The submission of the Old Man's son to Hulagu will not be found on p 53 or anywhere else, nor that rhubarb is protective against the effects of the sun on pp 75, 253 Rhinoceros and Sain Khan are out of place, Arabia, Mulehet, Pashai, Porcupine, the first chapter on Seilan, are omitted Many references to Rice besides its use in the making of wine might have been given And so on

In the translation no allowance is made for the apparent intention to distinguish khan (*can*) from qagan (*caan*) in *F*, nor for the fact that *sire* takes the place of *can* or *caan* in every case but one from chapters 90 to 113 inclusive It would have been a great help to readers if the chapters had been numbered Mr Penzer in the Argonaut Press has set a very good example in giving not only consecutive numbers to his chapters, but also the corresponding numbers in Yule, Ramusio, etc The curious omission of a map has been made good by the subsequent issue of the map of "The Itineraries of Marco Polo" from Mr Penzer's edition This leaves nothing to be desired in point of clearness, but only a very few of the places appear with the names, or spellings, which are used in Professor Ricci's text or in the Index

In spite of its faults the book remains a most valuable addition to the long list of editions of Marco Polo and is nicely printed and very pleasant to handle

Readers will I hope be grateful to the Editor for allowing me to add to these notes the Tree of the Polo family which is inserted above and the lists of manuscripts which follow

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A C MOULE

A short note must be added on Professor Benedetto's popular Italian version which was received in the middle of April In plan it is naturally like the English version by Professor A Ricci and Sir Denison Ross That is to say there is an Introduction, containing an original and very brilliant

description of Marco Polo's book, the text, without note or comment, a few pages of "Note alla traduzione", an Index of Persons and Places with brief notes, an Index of Subjects; and a folding map. The map is exceptionally clear, and has all the places spelled as in the text, and is unobstructed with a line of route The notes in the first index are concise and clear and on the whole represent the latest results of research, though some of the statements are open to question, and they appear to be free from the unfortunate signs of haste which tend to mar the English edition The spelling of modern Chinese names does not quite escape the usual confusion Thus we have Su-chow and Soo-chow, Wu-kiang hsien and Ou-kiang tcheou, and so on To the production of this popular edition Professor Benedetto has evidently brought the same high enthusiasm, learning, and scholarship with which he produced his great critical edition in 1928, and the student can ask for little (apart from elaborate commentary) which will not be found in one of these two books

A LIST OF THE MANUSCRIPTS AND EARLY PRINTED EDITIONS OF MARCO POLO DESCRIBED BY PROFESSOR L F BENEDETTO

(References are to the pages (here given in Arabic numerals) of Professor Benedetto's Introduction The *Letter* is not in every case taken from Benedetto)

| | *Letter* | *Place* | *Library and Mark* | *Date (century or year)* | *Language* | *Remarks* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | I FRANCO-ITALIAN (*F*) | | | |
| 1 | *F* | Paris | B N, fr 1116 | 14 | French | Printed, *Recueil de Voyages*, I, 1824; *Il Milione*, 1928. Facsimile, 1902. |
| 2 | *FO* | London | B M, Otho D 5 | 14 | „ | Fragment |
| | | | II GREGORIAN RECENSION (*FG*) | | | |
| 3 | *FA*[1] | Paris | B N, fr. 5631 | 14 | French | Printed by Pauthier |
| 4 | *FA*[2] | „ | B N fr 2810 | c 1400 | „ | Pictures printed 1907 |
| 5 | *FA*[3] | „ | B Arsen, 3511 | c 1500 | „ | — |
| 6 | *FB*[1] | London | B M, Reg 19 D 1 | 14 | „ | — |
| 7 | *FB*[2] | Oxford | Bodl, 264 | c 1400 | „ | — |

| | Letter | Place | Library and Mark | Date (century or year) | Language | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8 | $FB^2$ | Berne | B Cis, 125 | early 15 | French | — |
| 9 | $FB^4$ | Paris | B N, fr 5649 | c 1460 | ,, | — |
| 10 | $FB^5$ | Geneva | B Pub, fr 154 | 15 | ,, | — |
| 11 | $FB^6$ | Paris | B N, nouv acq fr 934 | c 1350 | ,, | Printed, *Il Milione* pp 48–56 |
| 12 | $FB^7$ | ,, | B N, nouv acq lat 1529 | 14 | ,, | — |
| 13 | $FC^1$ | Stockholm | B Reg, xxxvii | 14 | ,, | Facsimile 1882 |
| 14 | $FC^2$ | Paris | B N, nouv acq fr 1880 | c 1500 | ,, | — |
| 15 | $FC^3$ | ,, | B Ars, 5219 | 16 | ,, | — |
| 16 | $FC^4$ | Vevey | M Cis | 14 | ,, | Printed, *Romania*, xxx |
| 17 | $FD$ | Brussels | B Reg, 9309 | 14 | ,, | — |

III Tuscan Version ($TA$)

| | Letter | Place | Library and Mark | Date (century or year) | Language | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18 | $TA^1$ | Florence | B N, II iv 88 | c 1305 (?) | Italian | Printed, 1827, 1912, etc |
| 19 | $TA^2$ | | B N II iv 136 | 14 | | — |
| 20 | $TA^3$ | Paris | B N it 434 | 14 | ,, | — |
| 21 | $TA^4$ | Florence | B Laur Ashburnham 525 | 1391 | ,, | — |
| 22 | $TA^5$ | | B N II ii 61 | 1392 | | — |
| 23a | | | B Laur Temp 2 | 14 | | Pucci Compendium (p 85) |
| 23b | | | B Riccard 1922 | -- | | ,, |
| 23c | | | B N Magliab II iii 33[illegible] | - | | ,, |
| 23d | | | B Riccard 1674 | | ,, | ,, |
| 23e | | | B N Palat 678 | - | | ,, |
| 23f | | Munich | Staatsbibl ital 165 | | ,, | ,, |
| 24 | $LT$ | Paris | B N lat 3195 | 14 | Latin | — |

IV Venetian Version ($VA$)—and Retranslations

| | Letter | Place | Library and Mark | Date (century or year) | Language | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 25 | $VA^1$ | Rome | B Casanat, 3999 | early 14 | Venetian | Printed, *Studi Romanzi*, iv |
| 26 | $VA^2$ | Florence | B Riccard 1924 | 15 | | — |
| 27 | $VA^3$ | Padua | B Civ CM 211 | 1445 | ,, | — |
| 27a | $VA^3$ bis | Milan | B Ambros, Y 161 p s | 1793 | ,, | Copy of $VA^3$ |
| 28 | $VA^4$ | Florence | B Ippolito Venturi Ginori Lisci | early 15 | ,, | — |
| 29 | $VA^5$ | Berne | B Civ, 557 | 16 | ,, | — |
| 30 | $LB^1$ | Milan | B Ambros X 12 p s | 14 | Latin | — |

| Letter | | Place | Library and Mark | Date (century or year) | Language | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 31 | $LB^2$ | Rome | B Vat, lat 2035 | 15 (?) | Latin | — |
| 32 a | $TB^1$ | Florence | B N, Palat 590 | late 14 | Tuscan | — |
| 33 b | $TB^2$ | Rome | B Vat, Chigi M vi 140 | 15 | ,, | — |
| 34 | $TB^3$ | Siena | B Com, C v 14 | 15 | ,, | — |
| 35 c | $TB^4$ | Florence | B Laur, Ashb 534 | 14 | Tuscan | — |
| 36 | $TB^5$ | ,, | B Laur, Ashb 770 | 15 | ,, | — |
| 37 | $TB^6$ | ,, | B N, Magl xiii 73 | 15 | ,, | — |
| 38 | $VG^1$ | Munich | Staatsbibl, germ 696 | 15 | German | — |
| 38a | | London | B M | 1477 | ,, | Printed by Creussner, Nuremberg (p 114) |
| 39 | $VG^2$ | Munich | Staatsbibl, germ 252 | ? | ,, | — |
| 40 | $LA^1$ | Rome | B Vat, Barb lat 2687 | 15 | Latin | — |
| 41 | $LA^2$ | Munich | Staatsbibl, lat 18770 | 15 | ,, | — |
| 42 | $LA^3$ | Luxemburg | B Civ, 121 | 1448 | ,, | — |
| 43 | $LA^4$ | Schlierbach | B Mon Cist, 37 | 15 | ,, | — |
| 44 | $LA^5$ | Vienna | Staatsbibl, lat 4973 | 15 | ,, | — |
| 45 | $VT$ | Florence | B Riccard, 1910 | early 16 | Tuscan | — |
| 46 | $VL$ | Lucca | B Gov, 1296 | 1465 | Venetian | p 124 |
| [47 | | London | B M | 1503 | Spanish | Editions printed at |
| | | Florence | B Maruc | 1518 | | Seville (p 124) ] |
| [48 | | London | B M | 1496 | Venetian | Edition printed at Venice (p 125) ] |
| 49 | | Rome | B Vat, Ross 754 | 16 (?) | ,, | Copied from print (p 125) |
| 50 | | ,, | B Vat, lat 8434 | 17 | ,, | Copied from print (p 126). |
| 51 | | Venice | Mus Correr 1577 | 17 | ,, | Copied from print (p 126) |
| 52 | | ,, | B Marc, 5881 | 16 (?) | ,, | Copied from print (p 126). |
| | | | V Latin Version by Pipino (made from $VA$) | | | |
| 53 | $P^1$ | Berlin | Staatsbibl, lat 968 | 14 | Latin | Printed by Müller, 1671 |
| 54 | $P^2$ | Breslau | Staatsbibl., iv Fol 103 | 15 | ,, | — |
| 55 | $P^3$ | Cambridge | U L, Dd i 17 | 14 | ,, | — |

| | Letter | Place | Library and Mark | Date (century or year) | Language | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 56 | $P^{4}$ | Cambridge | U L, Dd viii 7 | 14 | Latin | — |
| 57 | $P^{5}$ | ,, | Caius Coll, 162 | 14 (?) | ,, | — |
| 58 | $P^{6}$ | Dublin | Trin Coll, 632 | 15 | ,, | — |
| 59 | $P^{7}$ | Escorial | B N (?), Q II 13 | 15 | ,, | — |
| 60 | $P^{8}$ | Florence | B Riccard, 983 + 2992 | early 14 | ,, | — |
| 61 | $P^{9}$ | Gand | B Univ, 13 | 13 | ,, | — |
| 62 | $P^{10}$ | Giessen | B Univ, ccxviii | 15 | | — |
| 63 | $P^{11}$ | Glasgow | Hunter Mus, 458 | 14 | | — |
| 64 | $P^{12}$ | ,, | Hunter Mus 84 | 15 | ,, | — |
| 65 | $P^{13}$ | Gottingen | B Univ, Hist 61 | 15 | ,, | — |
| 66 | $P^{14}$ | Jena | B Univ, Bos Q 10 | 15 | | — |
| 67 | $P^{15}$ | Leiden | B Univ, Voss lat 75 | 15 | ,, | — |
| 68 | $P^{16}$ | London | B M, Arundel xiii 164 C | 14 | | — |
| 69 | $P^{17}$ | ,, | B M, Reg 14 C xiii | 14 | | — |
| 70 | $P^{18}$ | ,, | B M Harl 5115 | 14 | ,, | — |
| 71 | $P^{19}$ | | B M Add 19513 | 14 | | — |
| 72 | $P^{20}$ | | B M, Add 19952 | 1445 | | — |
| 73 | $P^{21}$ | Lucerne | B Cantonale | 14 | | — |
| 74 | $P^{22}$ | Milan | B Ambros, Mss H 41 | modern | | — |
| 75 | $P^{23}$ | Modena | B Estense lat 131 | 14 | | — |
| 76 | $P^{24}$ | | B Est X 1 5 fol 115 | 14 | ,, | — |
| 77 | $P^{25}$ | Munich | Staatsbibl lat 5339 | 15 | | — |
| 78 | $P^{26}$ | | Staatsbibl, lat 18624 | ? | | — |
| 79 | $P^{27}$ | ,, | Staatsbibl, lat 850 | 15 | | — |
| 80 | $P^{28}$ | | Staatsbibl lat 249 | 15 | | — |
| 81 | $P^{29}$ | Naples | B N (= Vienna, B Pal 3273) | c 1400 | | Printed by Prášek, 1902 |
| 82 | $P^{30}$ | Oxford | Merton Coll, ccxii | 14 | | — |
| 83 | $P^{31}$ | Paris | B N nouv acq lat 1768 | early 14 | | — |
| 84 | $P^{32}$ | | B N, lat 17800 | 14 | ,, | — |
| 85 | $P^{33}$ | | B N, lat 6244 A | 1439 | ,, | — |
| 86 | $P^{34}$ | ,, | B N, lat 1616 | 15 | ,, | — |

| | Letter | Place | Library and Mark | Date (century or year) | Language | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 87 | P35 | Prag | B Cap S Vito (*Cat Podlaha*, 1012) | 15 | Latin | — |
| 88 | P36 | ,, | ibid (*Cat. Podlaha*, 1021) | 15 | ,, | — |
| 89 | P37 | Rome | B Vat, lat 3153 | 14 | ,, | — |
| 90 | P38 | ,, | B Vat, lat 5260 | 15 | ,, | — |
| 91 | P39 | ,, | B Vat, lat 7317 | 1458 | | — |
| 92 | P40 | ,, | B Vat, Ottobon lat 1875 | 1520 | | — |
| 93 | P41 | ,, | B Vat, Ottobon lat 1641 | 15 | ,, | — |
| 94 | P42 | ,, | B Vat, Regina 1846 | 15 | ,, | — |
| 95 | P43 | ,, | B Corsini, 1111 | 16 | ,, | — |
| 96 | P44 | Stuttgart | B Pub, *in 4to* 10 | 15 | ,, | — |
| 97 | P45 | Venice | B Marc, 3307 | 15 | ,, | — |
| 98 | P46 | ,, | B Marc, 3445 | 1465 | ,, | — |
| 99 | P47 | Vienna | B Nat, 12823 | 14 | ,, | — |
| 100 | P48 | Wolfenbüttel | B Duc (Herz), Gud lat 3 | 15 | ,, | — |
| 101 | P49 | ,, | B Duc Weissenb 40 | 15 | ,, | — |
| 102 | P50 | Wurzburg | B Univ, F 60 | 15 | ,, | — |
| 103 | P51 | [Belgium] | ["B Joannis Gisleni Bultelii" in Sander *Bib Belg manuscripta*, p 284 Perhaps the same as one of the above. See p 143] | | | |
| 104 | P52 | [Venice] | [in Fr Melchiori *Cat dei MSS in 4to*, No 424, belonged to Walter Sneyd 1836–1903 Where now? date 1407] | | | |
| 105 | PF1 | London | B M, Egerton 2176 | 15 | French | — |
| 106 | PF2 | Stockholm | B Reg, xxxviii | 15 | ,, | — |
| 107 | PI1 | Chatsworth | "The Book of Lismore" | 1460 | Irish | Printed, *Zeits f celt Philol*, 1897 |
| 108 | PI2 | Dublin | Irish Acad Lib | 19 | ,, | Copy of 107 |
| 109 | PB | Prag | Mus III E 42 | 15 | Bohemian | Printed by Prášek, 1902 |
| 110 | PV | Venice | B Marc, 6140 | 15 | Venetian | — |
| [111 | | | | 1502 | Portuguese | Edition printed at Lisbon, reprinted 1922] |
| 112 | PG | Munich | Staatsbibl, Germ 937 | 1582 | German | — |
| 113 | PF | Geneva | B Pub, suppl 883 | 19 | French | Copied from printed edition of 1735 |

| *Letter* | | *Place* | *Library and Mark* | *Date (century or year)* | *Language* | *Remarks* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [114 | $P^{33}$ | | The first printed Latin text, Antwerp, 1485 ] | | | |
| [114a | $P^{34}$ | | In S Grynaeus *Novus Orbis*, 1532 [1]] | | | |
| | | VI MANUSCRIPTS BASED ON A TEXT EARLIER THAN *F* | | | | |
| 115 | *Z* | Milan | B Ambros, Y 160 p s | 1795 | Latin | Certified copy of 117 |
| 116 | $Z^1$ | Venice | B Ghisi | 14 (?) | ,, | A manuscript used by Ramusio, now lost |
| 117 | $Z^2$ | Toledo | B Capitol | c 1400 | ,, | Now said to be lost |
| [117a | *R* | | in *Navigationi e Viaggi*, II | 1559 | Italian | The only authority for important passages taken by Ramusio from 116 ] |
| 118 | $V^1$ | Berlin | Staatsbibl, Hamilton 424 | 15 | Venetian | — |
| 119 | $V^2$ | Milan | B Ambros, Y 162 p s | 1793 | ,, | Copy of 118 |
| 120 | *l* | Ferrara | B Pub, 336 NB 5 | early 15 | Latin | A compendium |
| 121 | $L^1$ | Venice | Mus Correr, 2408 | 1401 | ,, | ,, |
| 122 | $L^2$ | Wolfenbüttel | B Com, Weis senb 41 | 15 | ,, | ,, |
| 123 | $L^3$ | Antwerp | Mus Plantin Mor, 60 | 15 | ,, | ,, |
| 124 | *VB* | Venice | Mus Correr Dona delle Rose 224 | 1446 | Venetian | p 182 |
| 125 | $VB^1$ | Rome | B Vat Barb lat 5361 | 1455 | ,, | Copied from a MS. belonging to P Rannusio, son of G B R., p. 183 |
| 126 | $VB^2$ | London | B M Sloane 251 | 1457 | ,, | — |
| 127 | *I* | Milan | B Ambros, *D* 526 | 14 | Latin | Extracts in *Imago Mundi*, printed, *Il Mil.*, p 193 |

[1] The *Novus Orbis* text was published in French by Fr Gruget, 1556, Italian (in part) by G B Ramusio, 1559 Castilian by Angelo Tavano 1601, German by Hier Megiser, 1609, English by J Purchas, 1625, Dutch by J H Glazemaker 1664, French, 1735

| | Letter | Place | Library and Mark | Date (century or year) | Language | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 128 | *I* | Milan | B.N., Trivulz. 704 | 1428 | Latin | Extracts *Imago Mun* pp 194, 195. |
| | | | VII UNCLASSIFIED | | | |
| 129 | *K* | Florence | B Riccard 2048 | 14 | Catalan | — |
| 130 | $K^1$ | Rome | B Vat, Ottob lat 2207 | 15 | French | — |
| 131 | $K^2$ | Escorial | B N, Z I 2 | late 14 | Aragonese | Printed, 1902 |
| 132 | | Florence | B Riccard 1036 | 1431 | | Extracts by M Ceffoni. p 21 |

*Addition* —5a $FA^1$ (see *Il Milione*, p 269).

*Note* —From this list, containing 140 items, must be deducted the printed editions (47, 48, 111, 114, 114*a*, 117*a*), the copies of printed editions (49, 50, 51, 52, 113), the doubtful items (103, 104), and the compendia and extracts (23 (six items), 120, 121, 122, 123, 127, 128, 132), leaving 114, of which some are imperfect and some are mere fragments But fragments, extracts, and even printed editions (specially, of course, Ramusio) may be valuable original authorities for determining the text

## MARCO POLO MANUSCRIPTS

A comparative Table of the numbers in the above List (right) and in the Yule-Cordier List (left)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 = 70 | 23 = 15 | 45 = 60 | | 67 = 79 |
| 2 = 68 | 24 = 24 | 46 = 26 | | 68 = 78 |
| 3 = 69 | 25 = 86 | 47 = 21 | | 69 = 41 |
| 4 = 6 | 26 = 85 | 48 = 32 | | 70 = 38 |
| 5 = 72 | 27 = 20 | 49 = 46 | | 71 = 39 |
| 6 = 126 | 28 = 71 | 50 = 34 | | [72 = —] |
| 7 = 105 | 29 = 42 | 51 = 130 | | 73 = 112 |
| 8 = 7 | 30 = 17 | 52 = 31 | | 74 = 101 |
| 9 = 82 | 31 = 98 | 53 = 89 | | 75 = 122 |
| 10 = 55 | 32 = 97 | 54 = 90 | | 76 = 53 |
| 11 = 56 | 33 = 110 | 55 = 40 | | [77 = —] |
| 12 = 57 | 34 = 52 | 56 = 125 | | 78 = 102 |
| 13 = 63 | 35 = 121 | [57 = 40] | | 79 = 62 |
| 14 = 64 | 36 = 124 | 58 = 95 | | 80 = 66 |
| 15 = 107, 108 | 37 = 120 | 59 = 33 | | [81 = —] |
| 16 = 58 | 38 = 127 | 60 = 59 | | 82 = 87 |
| 17 = 1 | 39 = 76 | 61 = 117 | | [83 = —] |
| 18 = 4 | 40 = 18 | [62 = —] | | 84 = 13 |
| 19 = 3 | 41 = 37 | 63 = 8 | | 85 = 106 |
| 20 = 9 | 42 = 22 | 64 = 29 | Cordier, | |
| [21 = —] | 43 = 19 | 65 = 16 | *Ser M P* p | 134 = 123 |
| 22 = 14 | 44 = 45 | 66 = 80 | ,, p | 136 = 129 |

A HISTORY OF INDIAN LITERATURE FROM VEDIC TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY By H H GOWEN. 8 × 5¼, pp. xvi + 593 New York and London · Appleton and Co, 1930. $4

Professor Gowen has attempted in this useful book to provide American readers with a wider knowledge of Indian literature than is at present available for them He rightly gives a full account of the invasions of India, and emphasizes the indebtedness of the country to outside influences for advances in its culture We may agree, moreover, that Indian literature has been so profoundly affected by historical and geographical conditions that it was advisable to give a full description of these for his American readers It is at the same time necessary to observe that the information he supplies is not always accurate It is, for example, many years since Madras and Bombay were the only Presidencies, and Bengal and the Panjab Lieutenant-Governorships The Lahnda language is not spoken in Sind, and some of the historical details are likely to mislead It should not, for instance, be suggested that Chandragupta was a camp follower with the army of Alexander the Great, without pointing out the unlikelihood of the story, and, to come to much later times, Ala-ud din Khilji was not the son, as well as the murderer, of his predecessor Jalal-ud-din The characters of Sanskrit literature, and its lasting influence on Hindu thought throughout the ages is however admirably described It is rightly pointed out that such literature is far from being entirely religious or mystical The Brahmans were, indeed, intensely practical, and the *Arthaśā tra* of Kautilya imparts, not merely a knowledge of Macchiavellian state-craft, but an extremely low standard of morality The *Kāmaśāstra* and similar works are again the direct negation of the asceticism which some suppose to have been a general feature of ancient India The Sanskrit classics and the dramas of Kālidāsa and others are clearly described Too much space, considering the necessary limitations in the size of the book, seems to be

given to the history of Buddhism and Jainism, but their literature also is adequately described When we come to mediaeval and modern times the book becomes less adequate.

In dealing with the Middle Ages, for example, there is an insufficient account of Tamil literature (due perhaps, to judge from the bibliography, to a lack of knowledge of Dr Pope's works), no mention of the Guzerati poets such as Narsinh Mehta and Mira Bai, no account of the Sufi poets of Sind and of the Shah-jo-Risala of Abdul Latif, no mention of the popular folk-poetry illustrated by the stories of Hir and Ranjha in the Panjab and of Laili and Majnun in Urdu Nor is the very widespread and important literature of modern India adequately dealt with There is a full account of Bengali literature, largely due to the vogue of Rabindranath Tagore in America, though we may note that the author relies on Dr E J Thompson's work on Tagore published in 1921, without reference to the much fuller book by the same author of 1927 No reference is, however, made to the almost equally large output of Tamil literature, to say nothing of the other Dravidian languages A comparatively minor Marathi writer is mentioned, without notice of the two Tilaks, whose writings on widely differing subjects were both remarkable No mention is made of the large Guzerati outturn, particularly that produced by the Parsis, and finally there is no mention of the Urdu poets, such as Sir Muhammad Iqbal Some attention might also have been given to the new school of historical writers, the most distinguished of whom is Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Nor is any mention made of the great journalistic activity of modern India, and, if it be objected that such journalism seldom produces literature, there have at least been several reputable literary periodicals Professor Gowen has rightly included a review of foreign writers, since these have had so great an influence on Indian writers, in addition to being the chief source of knowledge about India to English and American readers It must, however, be observed that his survey of such writers is inadequate and incomplete, and

this appears to be due largely to excessive reliance on Mr. Oaten's little book, which was little more than a prize essay. Incidentally, it may be noted that this reliance is responsible for an incorrect account of the German traveller, de Mandelslo Where the omissions are so numerous, we need only note that of Thomas Stephens, the first historical Englishman in India, and certainly the only one to write an epic poem in an Indian language, and, among the moderns, F W Bain and E J Thompson, who is only mentioned as the writer of a work on Tagore Rudyard Kipling is, of course, and very properly, mentioned at full length, but the quotation of a criticism on him by Richard Le Gallienne seems rather unnecessary, at least to English eyes The only Anglo-Indian writer mentioned (in the modern and non-literary sense of that expression) is De Rozio whose Christian name the author gives as Henri

The mention of these defects does not prevent a recognition of the solid merits of the book The truth is that India is a congeries of nations, with diverse literatures, and wide personal knowledge and much research would be necessary before a history could be written which would adequately cover them To such knowledge and research this book makes no claim But it is sanely and modestly written, with a marked absence of prejudice or partiality, and it therefore serves as a very useful introduction to an important and interesting subject

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P R C

BEYOND THE SUBLIME PORTE By BARNETTE MILLER, the Grand Seraglio of Stamboul, with an introduction by H EDIB 9 × 6 pp xxv – 281 New Haven. Yale University Press, London Oxford University Press $5

This is a scholarly and painstaking account of the Grand Seraglio of Constantinople much of the necessary knowledge

being acquired while the author was teaching in Turkey. It succeeds in giving a real meaning to the Sublime Porte, which to most readers must be little more than an expression. The most interesting portion of the book is the description of the educational system of the Sultan Muhammad, the conqueror of Constantinople, and in particular of his foundation of the Palace School of Pages This contained many of the features which we generally regard as peculiarly distinctive of the great English public schools, and to it was in great part due the efficiency of the Turkish generals and Turkish administrators during the reigns of the earlier Sultans. The struggle between the Royal Harem and the Vazirate is fully recounted The evil genius of the Sultana Roxelana led to the triumph of the women for one and a half centuries, and laid the seed for the downfall of the Ottoman Empire The architectural history of the Grand Seraglio is given in great detail, and, if this causes the book to be one for the student rather than for the general reader, it adds considerably to its usefulness

*478* P R C.

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A SHORT HISTORY OF INDIA By P T SRINIVAS IYENGAR. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$, pp 214 London, Oxford University Press Humphrey Milford, 1930 *2s. 6d*

It is difficult to get the whole history of India into the compass of so small and low-priced a book, but, if the author has not quite succeeded, he has made a very good attempt. No effort is made to trace the distinction between the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian races The latter, indeed, are never mentioned as such, and one would imagine that the difference between them was not one of race, but of the performance and non-performance of fire sacrifices. It is perhaps rash to assume that the people of India were highly civilized six thousand years ago, because of the discoveries at Mohenjo-daro, it has yet to be proved that this culture extended

beyond the Indus Valley There are curious omissions, such as the failure to mention the Arab invasion of Sind, or the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope Some of the statements are of doubtful correctness It is, for example, stated that the plateau of the Deccan is the land of the cotton plant The excavations at Mohenjodaro have shown that the true cotton plant existed in Sind, from which country, or more accurately from the River Indus, the Hebrew and Greek word for cotton piece-goods was derived It seems rash to assert positively that the Indo-Greek king Menander was a Buddhist of the Hinavāna doctrine, and it is surely incorrect to say that the frequent invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni did not in any way change the course of Indian history The author rightly mentions events in Tamil history too often neglected, but he hardly shows how they affected events in Northern India The author avoids comment on events which might yet cause ill feeling, but it is surely carrying euphemism too far to say that during the Indian Mutiny, when British forces were besieged at Lucknow and Cawnpore, "relief came and the places were saved" Incidentally, practically no mention is made of the military character of the Mutiny The upheaval is ascribed to Lord Dalhousie s policy, but it is not explained why the Madras and Bombay Presidencies remained calm, though that policy had been applied in them also Although there is a marked and praiseworthy absence of racial prejudice, it must be observed that the account of the policy of Lord Wellesley and Lord Hastings approaches a travesty of their objects Nor will it be generally accepted as correct that while the rule of Indians is personal, under the British system the people and the officers see as little as possible of each other The book is, however, free from any cause of offence, and, when its illustrations are considered, is very good value for its cost

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MANDELSLO'S TRAVELS IN WESTERN INDIA (A D 1638–9). By M S COMMISSARIAT 8½ × 5½, pp. xx + 115, plates 6 London, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras Oxford University Press, 1931 11s 6d.

Mandelslo occupies a somewhat special position among early European travellers in India As a young German of good family and clearly of very pleasing character, he was not connected with any of the rival commercial nations trading in India, and at the same time was on the most friendly terms of intimacy with both the English and the Dutch factors in Western India But he was no writer, and had always intended to entrust his Journal to his German friend, Olearius, who had been secretary to the Duke of Holstein's Embassy which Mandelslo had accompanied as far as Persia Mandelslo died soon after his return to Europe, and Olearius published his journal in 1646, along with his own travels, and in an expanded form in 1656 When this was translated into and published in French by A de Wicquefort in 1659, the French editor added largely to Mandelslo's account from other books and sources, some of which have not been traced, and it was from this French edition that John Davies of Kidwelly published his English translation of 1662, of which a further edition appeared in 1669 The result was Mandelslo was credited with journeys and observations which he never made, and the reputation thereby attaching to him had its inevitable aftermath when Vincent Smith in the *Journal* of this Society for April, 1915, pointed out the small portion of the Travels really due to Mandelslo, and went on to declare, with undue severity, that the parts of the book written by him are almost valueless and that his " bubble reputation is pricked beyond the possibility of repair ". Professor Commissariat's study of the admittedly original part of the so-called travels is therefore especially useful He originally intended it to be a portion of his *History of Guzerat*, and the resulting form of the book is perhaps somewhat unfortunate. Not only does he thereby lose the picturesque effect of John

Davies' English translation (as, for example, his description of the "Rasboutes", or Rajputs, as "Tories or highwaymen"), but he omits also many pleasing touches, such as the discovery by Mandelslo at Cambay of the inscription cut in 1616 by Methwold, the President of the English factory at Surat, and Mandelslo's host in 1638, of the couplet —

> "The English and the Dutch were here,
> And drank toddy for want of beer."

Still Professor Commissariat fully establishes the value of Mandelslo's observations, however baldly they may have been set down There is a very pleasing account of the social life of the English and Dutch factors, between whom much friendly intercourse at the time existed, probably in large measure due to the character of Methwold, and the fact that he spoke Dutch well There are interesting details, such as the meeting of the married English factors on Fridays, to drink to their wives, since they had parted from them in England on that day, and the fact that both English and Dutch factors constantly assumed Indian dress, though they kept up their taste for European food and drink In his account of the tyranny of the Mogul governors, of the insecurity of the roads, and of the effect of the great famine of 1630, Mandelslo is both informative and trustworthy, and his details are amusing, such as the interest of the dancing girls in the lovelocks, which he wore like other cavaliers of the period, and which made the damsels doubt his sex. Vincent Smith himself assigns sixty-five out of the 232 pages of Davies edition of 1669 to Mandelslo, and there can be little doubt of the veracity and value of his account We think that Professor Commissariat might have given a fuller account of that remarkable man William Methwold, and might have emphasized the importance of the treaty which he made with the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa in 1638, when Mandelslo was in his company Although, moreover, Mandelslo's visit to Agra and Lahore was brief, and his description, as his French editor said, "assez maigre," his

account would have been of more interest than his view of Amsterdam On the other hand, Professor Commissariat's personal knowledge of Surat and Ahmadabad has enabled him to make valuable remarks on Mandelslo's description. The best epitaph of Mandelslo himself is to be found in the letter of the President and Council of Surat to the East India Company "He hath lived among us, the civillest, modestest, and fairest behaved that we have ever known of his age and education"

*465* P. R C

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE ANCIENT HINDUS By SANTOSH KUMAR DAS $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7$, pp xii + 508 Calcutta · Mitra Press, 1930

This is a very weighty book by Professor Das of the Tri-Chandra College in Nepal, and it is due to the patronage and aid of the Prime Minister of Nepal that so large a book has been published at so moderate a price It gives us a full and learned study of the educational system of ancient Hindu India Professor Das throws his net very wide. He includes under education much vocational training such as the teaching of the soldier in the use of arms, and many descriptions of what can only be called very indirect education, such as asceticism, discussions, religious tournaments, pantomimes, displays of wild animals, and "club life" It may be true that culture and not literacy was the highest form of education in ancient India, but the impression gathered certainly is that education in the modern sense was very limited in extent. Higher education was not open to all, and Brahmans alone were authorized to teach. Studentship was confined to the twice-born castes Its full course lasted from 32 to 101 yesrs, and Megasthenes puts the period at thirty-seven years In these circumstances the numbers of the highly educated must have been limited, and it would be interesting to know what proportion of the lower classes had

any teaching at all Vincent Smith correctly observes that Asoka would have not have recorded his decrees upon stone, if they could not be generally read, but the number of actual readers may have been small It does not appear that the poorer classes received any form of teaching of letters, except in the schools of the Buddhist monasteries, where the teaching may well have been as general as it still is in Buddhist Burma When he treats of female education, the author is still more general in his application. The fact that only certain classes of women, such as courtesans, princesses, and daughters of noblemen, should have their intellects sharpened by direct study indicates a very limited application of teaching to women A courtesan "of good character, beauty, and virtue" was entitled to higher education, but this would indicate that her non-professional sisters were not so instructed

The author is fully justified in saying that we should judge an educational system by the average men it produces, and by quoting the ancient Greek and Chinese writers in respect to the truth and justice-loving character of the Indians of their time, but he is scarcely justified in ascribing the deterioration which he evidently believes as having taken place in the Hindu character to the results of Muslim and British Rule Surely the maxims and precepts of Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*, a work to which he constantly refers, do not indicate a community altogether free from falsehood and deceit Even one of the teachings which he quotes as showing the respect for learning, "In cases where by speaking truth a student is killed, a witness may speak untruth does not inculcate a high regard for truthfulness The book is not free from generalities and deductions of this sort, but it is an interesting examination of our slender knowledge of general education in the early ages

223 P R C

THE IMPERIAL GAZETTEER OF INDIA, Vol XXVI Atlas. New (revised) edition Published with the authority of the Government of India $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp vii + 41, plates 66. Oxford Clarendon Press, 17*s* 6*d*.

The last edition of the official *Gazetteer of India* was issued in 1909, and the time had certainly come for the revision, if not of the whole *Gazetteer*, at any rate of the valuable atlas which constitutes its last volume There are new provincial boundaries, new military commands, large railway extensions, and many other developments which have come into existence during the last twenty years, and the Government of India has done well in undertaking the revised edition of the atlas and in entrusting it to such capable hands The names of the officers responsible for the revision are not given, and this seems unfortunate Although the labour of revision is nothing like so great as that involved in the original preparation of the maps, the investigations of fresh data must have involved an immense amount of careful research , and one would have liked to have known to whom we are indebted for the revised edition

A meticulous investigator can find one or two defects a recently constructed bridge omitted from a city plan, for instance, or a new line of railway entered in one map and not in another But generally speaking, the maps appear to be well brought up to date Those in which the Society may be thought to be specially interested are, as a rule, of a "static" character, and there is little or nothing of change to record in maps which deal with the races or the religions or the languages of the country Those that illustrate the history of India appear to reproduce with little or no alteration the maps compiled by Mr J S Cotton for the edition of 1909. There are, however, considerable changes in the archæological map In amplification of the old classification of sites as Buddhist, Hindu, and Muhammedan, we have two further classes introduced to cover the prehistoric sites and those of uncertain origin The number of sites indicated has been

greatly enlarged and places such as Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, together with a host of other sites in Baluchistan and the Indus Valley, and elsewhere find themselves entered for the first time in this revised map

The production of the maps has been entrusted as before to Messrs John Bartholemew and Sons, and it has been carried out with the same skill as in 1909, and with even greater clearness of outline and colouring The whole volume reflects great credit on all concerned in its publication

425 ANON

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CONFUCIUS AND CONFUCIANISM By RICHARD WILHELM, late Professor of Chinese at the University of Frankfurt on the Main, translated into English by GEORGE H. DANTON, Ph D, and ANNINA PERIAM DANTON, Ph D. 7¾ 4⅞, pp x + 181 London Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co, Ltd, 1931 6s

A timely and welcome publication At the moment when Confucianism, that system upon which the longevity of the Chinese Empire has depended, seems doomed to annihilation, it is well that the world should realize what is being swept away It is difficult for the Western student to obtain the texts of *The Chinese Classics*, translated by Legge, and long lengthy process undertaken by but a small minority, to read them from cover to cover, therefore a concise account of the Master and his writings has long been overdue English readers must be grateful to Dr Danton and his wife for making available the excellent handbook prepared by the late Richard Wilhelm whose premature death is an irreparable loss in the field of Chinese studies No other Sinologue of the generation is possessed of the burning enthusiasm which drove Wilhelm to labour, even on his death bed, at the work he loved

The book under review opens with a translation of Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien's biography of the Sage, Chapter II is entitled,

"Critical Examination of the Data of Sse-ma Ch'ien; the Historical Significance of Confucius"; Chapter III is an interesting discussion of "The Documents containing the Confucian Teachings", Chapter IV, in a way the most interesting in the book, as it gives Wilhelm's often unorthodox interpretation of the Confucian Canon, presents a lively and sympathetic account of the teachings of the Sage, and Chapter V gives "Specimens of the Text", the book closes with a bibliography by Wilhelm and a supplementary bibliography provided by the translators, unfortunately no index is included The book is a clear and comprehensive introduction to the study of Confucianism, and should be widely distributed

Numerous footnotes regarding various points of interest are provided by the translators In one of these a curious error, quite unconnected, however, with the subject under discussion, has crept in On page 37, after describing the *ch'i lin*, one of the four fabulous animals, Dr Danton continues "it is the so-called *fo dog*, so often found in curio shops" As a matter of fact, the two fantastic creatures are quite distinct The *ch'i lin*, which resembles a deer, has been mentioned since early days, and, as stated, is one of the "four fabulous animals", the others being the *lung*, the *fêng*, and the *kuei* The *shih tzŭ*, called by Europeans the *fo dog*, is a Buddhist importation, and its prototype is probably a lion Figures of the *fo dog* are widely represented in China, and always in pairs The female nurses her offspring through the tips of her claws, and the male plays with a ball in thoroughly masculine fashion On the low flight of steps leading to the Ch'ien Ch'ing Kung in the Forbidden City both animals are represented On the first tread dogs of *fo* roll their variegated ball, and on the second appear *ch'i lin* who portend peace and good fortune See *A Chinese Mirror*, by Florence Ayscough, p. 316 The *Tz'ŭ Yuan* gives full description of both *ch'i lin* and *shih tzŭ*, and a short study of the latter appears in the *Dogs of China and Japan* by Collier.

It is to be hoped that *Confucius and Confucianism* will run through many editions, but before the next is printed the spelling of Chinese names should be standardized The authors state that they use the Wade system, but they do not follow it consistently The surname of the great Chinese historian, a translation of whose work absorbs half the book, is spelt, according to Wade, *Ssŭ-ma*, here it appears as *Sse-ma*. Other spellings are also inconsistent For instance, we read on one page of Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, on the next of the same person as Liang Ch'i-chao and so on This is an annoyance which should be remedied, but it in no way detracts from the great value of the book

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THE CULTURE CONTACTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA
The earliest Sino-American Culture Contacts, 1784–1844
By GEORGE H DANTON 9½ × 6¼, pp xiv + 133
New York Columbia University Press, 1931 10s 6d

Once, in discussing the Chinese Revolution, I remarked to an official high in the British Consular Service "Do you not agree that the Revolution, for weal or woe, would have been long delayed had it not been for the teaching of Protestant missionaries?" "I would go much further," he replied, "I would say that it would have been long delayed had it not been for the teaching of the *American* missionaries" And it is true this judgment of his "No single factor has played a greater part in producing the late developments in China than has the widespread absorption of those ideals which may be termed 'Americanism'" Dr Danton, of Oberlin College in a monograph which is the first of a series, commences an analysis of this phenomena, and discusses the reasons why 'Americanism' found a fertile soil in China

Firstly, as he points out both people are fundamentally democratic, both are more loyal to the State than to that individual who happens to be the chief executive of the moment

Secondly, the social development in each country is similar; both lack an hereditary aristocracy, and each have "a somewhat touching faith in education as a panacea, not merely for social, but for moral ills"

The book, which treats only the years closing with the Treaty of Wang Hsia, that Treaty which first mentioned extraterritoriality in connection with China, and which introduced the important "most favoured nation" clause, contains but five chapters Each is carefully sub-divided and profusely annotated It is a pity, however, that in his effort to avoid mention of facts already "sufficiently documented" Dr Danton has produced a book which can only be useful for specialists The subject being of great interest, it should be made comprehensible to the lay reader who most certainly does not possess the knowledge of China in her international relations which the author pre-supposes. If Dr Danton shrinks from amplifying his text, a concise glossary of reference would help, and it is to be hoped that volume two will be made more generally intelligible. In the one under review incidents and individuals with which the reader is supposed to be perfectly familiar are touched upon and left at that A library of reference is therefore an essential corollary to the reading of the book, which ably treats a subject that, in the light of subsequent events, is shown to be of supreme importance

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PAPYRI GRAECAE MAGICAE Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri. Bd II Herausgegeben und Ubersetzt von KARL PREISENDANZ $6\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$, pp 218 Leipzig Teubner Verlag, 1931 20*s*

On p. 397 of the 1929 *JRAS* there was published a notice of Vol I.

With this volume Professor Preisendanz completes his great undertaking of collecting in two handy volumes all the known papyri scattered throughout the numerous libraries

of Europe and America The importance of this publication can scarcely be exaggerated and already, when noticing the first volume in our *Journal*, the hope was expressed that in spite of all the difficulties which at that time threatened the continuation of the publication the work would not be left in mere torso This hope has now been fulfilled Wherever a scrap of magical papyrus could be found it was all gathered in. The author divides the material into two sections, the largest one being that which he describes as pagan, and a smaller number of papyri in which the Christian influence is becoming paramount The system observed by the author is throughout the same He gives as far as possible a critically emended text, and such variations at the bottom which are of importance This is followed by a German translation line by line in which, however, the mystical names and diagrams are merely referred to since they are printed in the Greek text above, and then also notes referring to parallel passages in other papyri The difficulties which these texts offer especially in the interpretation of ingredients and formulæ do not seem to have presented a very serious obstacle to Professor Preisendanz By comparing the text he has with rare exceptions been able to give us a most authoritative translation on which scholars can rely The number of fragments is Pagan, 53 from page 60 to 188, and Christian 20, from page 189 to 208 some are larger, some are smaller Not only has the author given us here those texts but also all the larger diagrams and illustrations found in various papyri and printed in three plates at the end of the volume Actual conditions in Germany have also left a very deep trace in this publication In spite of the generosity of the publishers for whom the publication of such a book must have been a matter of great financial sacrifice, the author had to omit all the fuller explanations and footnotes as well as references and quotations from elsewhere But even so he has offered quite enough to make this book a most valuable one. The expense of production must also have been very

heavy considering that in the text all the small diagrams for which special dies have to be cut have been carefully reproduced On the basis of this material the history of the magical literature during the Middle Ages will be much more easily traced, not a few parallels can be found, e g in the Hebrew sword of Moses, Hebrew-Arabic conjurations and talismans as well as the numerous MSS of a similar nature, such as the Clavicula Solomonis There is scarcely a link missing in this chain.

It would have been a great boon if the author could also have seen his way to follow the example set by Wessely and give us an index of all the proper names of persons and gods, and the titles of the various recipes and conjurations, so as to make it more easy to find one's way It is to be hoped, however, that together with the material omitted in this volume, the author may see his way to give us these various indices on some future occasion A word of praise must also be added for the admirable technical execution of this book, which is quite in keeping with the old tradition of the Teubner firm

*N R.* M G

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ETUDES SUR LES ORIGINES DE LA RELIGION DE L'EGYPTE By SAMUEL B MERCER The Oriental Research Series, Vol I With a preface by A MORET. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6$, pp xi + 105. London . Luzac and Co , 1929 *10s*

Professor Mercer, who has made use of some of the notes of the late Professor Maspero, develops here his theories as to the origin of the predynastic Egypt He endeavours to show that the Egyptian civilization is the result of a development represented by four races worshipping four different gods, which one after the other occupied Upper Egypt and afterwards contributed to create the Egyptian pantheon and the Egyptian nation.

The first of these is represented by the god Seth, the worshippers of which were probably indigenous Egyptians.

The second race, which invaded Egypt from Arabia via Kossier and Suez, were the worshippers of Horus, the falcon god. The third race were the worshippers of Osiris, whom Professor Mercer describes as being of Assyrian origin, and who brought from that part the beginning of civilization and, as he believes, also the first beginnings of that writing which in time developed into the Phoenicean alphabet Of course it has taken a long time until that evolution has become perfect, but he believes that the Phoenicean alphabet is much older than has hitherto been assumed Finally, the fourth race were the worshippers of the god Re, the worshippers of the obelisk, the round-headed people who were also worshippers of the sun and the sun disc These may have come from the Mediterranean from the north and according to Professor Mercer introduced into Egypt the highest form of civilization, far surpassing that which was due to the followers of Osiris He also draws attention to the fact that the idea of the sun rising from the water and setting in the water as well as travelling in a barge can only be due to the influence of the people who had come from an island, and thus probably Crete has also had an influence upon the religion of Egypt Of course, we are dealing here with the Neolithic period predynastic, and therefore resting to a large extent upon hypothesis and on the archaeological discoveries made in tombs and elsewhere Thus the civilization of Egypt is a product of a mixture of four races the Semitic race having given to Egypt a large part of its vocabulary, and the Libyan its grammar Professor Moret who writes an introductory note, whilst fully approving of most of the results of Professor Mercer, still has some doubt upon the manner in which other races may have reached Egypt from the north and by the east of Suez

The book is divided into six chapters The first five are devoted to the study of the assumed races, distinct in their character and worshipping one of the gods mentioned above It is in the sixth chapter that the author sums up the

conclusions at which he has arrived by a careful investigation of all the available data Valuable though it is, the book seems to be rather expensive at the price

127 M G

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HEBREW UNION COLLEGE ANNUAL, Vol VII Board of Editors D PHILIPSON, J Z LAUTERBACH, J MORGENSTERN, S H BLANK pp 577 Cincinnati, 1930

The present issue of the *Annual* contains ten contributions, nearly half the volume being taken up by the second essay.

(1) Dr Buttenwieser opens with a short paper on "The date and character of Ezekiel's prophecies" Ezekiel claims that in 592–586 B C he carried on his prophetic activity at Tel-Abib, and also (xxiv, 25–7, xxxiii, 21, 22) states that he remained silent in these years The inconcinnity is solved by recognizing cc i–xxxi as *vaticinia post eventum*, a feature of apocalyptic writings Another feature of such writings is the prominence given to visionary voyages, common also in Ezekiel, those in the prophecy are typical cases of prophetic ecstasy and can be paralleled in profane literature, of which Buttenwieser gives some interesting examples, and hence we may gather Ezekiel's primitive conception of inspiration. The book was written some time after the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B C, the dating of xl, 1, and xxix 17, marking the terminus ad quem at 570 B C

(2) Dr J Morgenstern pursues his study of "The Book of the Covenant", the first part of which was published in 1928 He critically analyses Exodus xx, 23–xxiii, 19, recognizing four different types of law which may be designated as דברים, משפטים, חקים, and מצוות respectively The Mišpatim of the section are discussed with a fulness which amounts to a learned critical and expository commentary; then the other Mišpatim of the Bible are dealt with and compared with those in the Book of the Covenant The mišpat of Deut xxv, 5–10, receives (pp 159–83) fuller treatment than elsewhere, and gives clearly the various stages

in the evolution of levirate marriage in Biblical times The importance of the essay cannot be over-estimated, and we look forward to its completion in subsequent issues of the *College Annual*

(3) Dr S H Blank examines the LXX renderings of the Old Testament terms for divine law, and comes to the conclusions that in several passages the terms מצוה and תורה were added as glosses at a late date by Hebrew scribes, that the LXX translators were careful in their renderings of the different Hebrew terms, the literal character and consistency of their translation being apparent on analysis, that the conclusions reached by several scholars as to several hands being at work on the translation of various books are supported by the renderings of the terms considered in his essay

(4) An interesting essay follows on the present state of textual criticism of the Old Testament by Dr Joseph Reider, of Dropsie College, Philadelphia, the main thesis being that 'there has cropped up in recent years a great and unwieldly mass of far-fetched and unnecessary emendations which, far from lending any help towards the elucidation and understanding of the biblical text threatens to bring confusion and chaos into it One is reminded of the dictum of a great Hebrew teacher (P H Mason) 'Your business is to read the text before you whenever possible and it is pleasing to see this advice coming from the other side of the Atlantic to a later generation Dr Reider gives copious illustrations from modern critics of unnecessary emendations justly complaining that Lagarde's canons of textual criticism for the LXX, in every way very sound, are constantly disregarded by them. After consideration of emendations based on the Versions, he deals with those conjectural, in whose name 'more sins are committed than in the name of any other critical discipline of the Bible , and he singles out Duhm as the chief offender Modern scholars with few exceptions have turned topsy-turvy the recognized canons of textual criticism, and of this many examples are given , at the same time attention is

drawn to the revolt on the part of Cannon (*The Sixty-eighth Psalm*, Cambridge), and C C. Torrey (*Second Isaiah*), and h might have added here the work of C H. S Godwin on *The Anglican Proper Psalms* (Cambridge, 1915) Of the metrica theorists he complains that their chief fault is that "the cut the text to their own measure instead of forming their measure to the text", a notable instance of which is D Briggs' Commentary on the Psalms The only safe way o explaining difficult passages and words is from the cognate languages, a method to which the Higher Criticism from th middle of last century gave a quietus, though Perles, Erhlich and a few others continued in the old paths, with great gair to Biblical exegesis, and it is on this line that Dr Reider hopes the way to clearer understanding of the Old Testamen will proceed

(5) The librarian of Yale University, Dr. Nemoy, gives translation into English of those parts of Al-Qirqisānī's *Book of Lights and Watch-towers* (כתאב אלאנואר ואלמראקב) which have been edited by Harkavy and Hirschfeld containing his account of the Jewish sects and Christianity

(6) Dr Englander investigates Rashi's view of the weak ע"ע and פ"ן roots, with special reference to the views Menahem b Saruk and Dunash b Labrat, and arrives at th conclusions that, save the פ"י (where he follows Dunash), th weak roots ע"ע and פ"ן are bilateral to Rashi, that lik Menahem and Dunash he held certain weak roots to be unilateral, and that for the most part he was in close agreement with these two writers in his explanations Th article is an advance upon the contributions of Kronber and S Poznański on the subject

(7) Monsieur Ginsburger, of Strasbourg, contributes a article in French on the biblical exegesis of German Jews i the Middle Ages We now possess in a MS of the librar of Karlsruhe (MS Reuchlin, 8), written by a German Jew i the first half of the fourteenth century, a source enabling u to form some idea of the exegesis of that period. In thi

MS we have a Judeo-German glossary of the Old Testament followed by an explanation in Hebrew An examination of these explanations seems to indicate that the influence of Rashi was paramount, and that our author was not acquainted with Aben Ezra or David Kimhi

(8) The essay by Dr Bettan on "The Sermons of Azariah Figo" is a welcome study in Jewish homiletics, and a fitting sequel to the study of Judah Moscato's sermons which he contributed to the *Annual* of 1929 Figo (1579–1647) was rabbi at Pisa for twenty years afterwards at Venice, where he was head of the Sephardic congregation The collection of sermons, bearing the title בינה לעתים, was published at Venice in 1648, the year after his death The extracts given show that Figo was an outspoken and courageous speaker, dealing fearlessly with the sins and shortcomings of the age, he insists on simplicity of living (" though in exile we live like royal personages "), draws attention to the indifference to the requirements of the ritual law, and to the exactment of exorbitant interest on loans The form of his sermons was influenced greatly by Moscato though there is in them a simplicity of outline and freedom from mysticism which marks the latter's discourses, with a tendency to interpret Biblical verses and rabbinical passages symbolically where the simpler exegesis (פשט) fails He was no plagiarist, for, as he tells us elsewhere from his youth up he had detested "that low and degrading practice of wrapping in a toga not one's own, of glorifying myself with the labours of others" After reading Dr Bettan's essay couched in beautiful English, we are not surprised that the Jewish preachers of the old school are turning to the בל״ע for inspiration and for models on which to base their art

(9) Dr Simon Bernstein, of New York, publishes from MSS in the Jewish Theological Seminary of America thirty-one of the letters of R Mahalalel Halelujah of Ancona (seventeenth century), which throw light on matters of public and communal concern The main object of the letters was

to exhibit a style which should be used in Hebrew composition, and this accounts for the fact that in most of them there is no indication of the date when they were written It is well-known that R Halelujah was an adherent of Shabbethai Zevi, and we have printed here a hymn composed in his honour, found in two versions, one written before, and the other after the fall of the pseudo-Messiah, in the latter version, which is described simply as a prayer for Israel's redemption, can be detected the author's still steadfast belief in Shabbethai Zevi

(10) With a biographical introduction and explanatory notes Dr J R Marcus prints the love letters of Bendet Schottlaender (1763–1846), which are preserved mainly in the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem These letters, written in 1806–7, reflect the changes caused by "the emergence of the Jews of Central and Western Europe from the Ghetto life to the wider Christian national life" None of the letters written by his fiancée, Miss Therese Frank, is preserved—probably Schottlaender had the good sense to destroy them, and his own will hardly rank with the great love letters of the world It is not as a letter-writer, but as an educationist that he will be remembered

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PSEUDO-EZEKIEL AND THE ORIGINAL PROPHECY By CHARLES CUTLER TORREY, Professor of Semitic Languages in Yale University Yale Oriental Series Researches, vol XVIII $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7$, pp 119 New Haven Yale University Press, London Milford, Oxford University Press, 1930 9*s*

Dr Torrey's reconstruction of the latter part of the Old Testament history is familiar to Biblical scholars, and the conclusions he arrives at in this monograph on Ezekiel, the most important work on the subject published this century, are but a corollary to his previous researches Since the story

of a Babylonian Exile is, according to him, a pure invention, the Ezekiel of Babylon is a myth, and the book pseudepigraphic On this assumption of the history he works out his case well Stated briefly it is that the Book of Ezekiel was written about 230 B C , and was redacted a few years later in the interest of a supposititious Babylonian captivity , erase the editorial additions and, with a few changes in the remaining text, you get the original prophecy of a prophet resident in Jerusalem This new picture of the prophet Torrey holds will in the end be recognized as "the only interpretation which satisfies the evidence, literary, historical, and even traditional" It remains to indicate briefly the lines on which this evidence is collected

Dr Torrey opens with the Jewish tradition as gathered from certain passages in the Talmud (Sabb 14*b* , Ḥag 13*a* , Men 15*a*),[1] which centre round the well-known story of Ḥananiah ben Hezekiah , and from the locus classicus on the Canon in Baba Bathra 14*b*, 15*a*, where it is said that, amongst other books, Ezekiel was written by "the men of the Great Synagogue" From this it is surmised that they did not ascribe the book to Ezekiel because they knew that it was not written by the "Ezekiel" of the Babylonian captivity It is well known that the beginning and end of Ezekiel were forbidden to be read by those under thirty years of age owing, as Talmudical contexts suggest, to the mystical speculations the former would lead to, and to the supposed contradictions of the latter with the Torah[2] But Torrey suggests that the real reason why the reading of the first chapter is forbidden is because of the glaring anachronism contained in the opening verses, the difficulties of which are apparent to anyone consulting a good commentary The pundits of Jerusalem knew the difficulties which almost led to the exclusion (גנז)[3] of the book from the canon of

[1] See Hyman, *Toldoth Tannaim v Amoraim*, ii, 506, col 1

[2] See Streane, *Chagigah*, p 71, note 1

[3] On this term, see Moore, *Judaism*, i, 247

Scripture; but "the claims of the prophecy . . . could not be gainsaid, it must by all means be given a place in the sacred library, and thus be saved for the public use" The position here taken up depends on a theory elaborated by Torrey in a former work on Second Isaiah that there existed in Jerusalem in the third century B C a company of scholars who edited the Later Prophets, a theory which has found but little acceptance

In his second chapter Dr Torrey discusses a question which, he says, has for two thousand years awaited the true answer: To what hearers is the prophecy addressed? and he answers without hesitation Apart from the oracles on the foreign nations, to the people of Judah and Jerusalem Passages bearing on the question are examined in some detail, and there is a trenchant criticism of Bertholet's view that Ezekiel had in Babylon a sufficient audience of captive Jews to save his reputation as a prophet Maybe the solution of the difficulty can be found in the suggestion of A B Davidson[1] that "the truths spoken by him, though uttered in the ears of the exiles, bear reference to all Israel in general he regards the exile carried away with Jehoiachin as representatives of Israel, and feels when addressing them that he is speaking to the whole house of Israel" Previous writers have not been unmindful of the difficulties which are now to be elucidated by an elimination from the text of all references to the Golah, though Dr Torrey concedes the possibility (for those rejecting his reconstruction of the history) of Ezekiel's transference in imagination from Babylonia to Palestine[2] The symbolic actions are a difficulty, but as they appear to be done in vision (cf c xi, 1 ff) we are absolved from taking them in literal significance The troublesome passage, xxiv, 21, where the words "whom ye have left behind (אשר עזבתם)" are

[1] *Cambridge Bible*, 1892, on c iii, 11. Kraetzschmar, 1900 (quoted by Torrey, p 30), uses similar language

[2] See on this the interesting essay by Buttenwieser in the *Hebrew Union College Annual*, vol vii, 1930, pp 1 ff

held to be an insertion by the Babylonian redactor, may be emended to אשר עזבוני, and so good sense is obtained Dr. Torrey's comment on the MT is just, unless with Lofthouse (*Century Bible*, in loc ) we hold the words to be "a valuable (!) sidelight on the character of the first deportation"

To pave the way for a discussion of the dates, original and secondary, of the book, Dr Torrey next deals with the success of Josiah's reformation, and here he thinks the account in Second Kings, and not the representation of Ezekiel (as currently interpreted), must stand uninfluenced by the midrashic interpretation of the Chronicler It would be impossible in a few words to indicate the reasons given for this view, which leads to the conclusion that "the reform of Josiah was successful and its effect lasting, as would long ago have been definitely established but for the confusion which the 'Babylonian' editor of Ezekiel has introduced" Attention is particularly drawn to the statements of 2 Kings xxiii, 26, xxiv, 3, that the punishment of Israel was the result of the sins of Manasseh, one of which was the introduction of the Melek (Moloch) cult which was rooted out once for all under Josiah Ezekiel describes the cult as still going on (xx, 31), so the circumstances pictured in the original uninterpolated prophecy require a time earlier than the eighteenth year of Josiah As to the dates scattered throughout the Book it is maintained that they are the work of an editor and of no worth, being based on i, 2, 3, which verses were the insertion of the "Babylonian" redactor The difficulty in the opening verse of the first chapter, where "thirtieth year" is given without further dating has been explained in various ways, Dr Torrey argues from the content of the prophecy, that the reference is undoubtedly to the thirtieth year of Manasseh (663 B C), and that the whole prophecy is built on 2 Kings, xxi, 2-16 He accordingly rearranges the dates (see table on p 61) in accordance with this hypothesis One might conjecture from this that the prophecies themselves were delivered and written in

Manasseh's reign by a Judean seer, and that the redactor wished them to be allocated to the time of a supposed Babylonian captivity, but it is argued that, for many reasons, the original book of prophecy was composed many generations after the destruction of Jerusalem (586 B C) — the mention of Persia in xxvii, 10, xxxviii, 5, the reference to Persian ritual in viii, 17, the language of the book belongs to the later stratum of Old Testament literature, there being no clear evidence of dependence upon Ezekiel till we come to Sirach (xlix, 8) On these grounds, and others for which we must refer the reader to the essay, Dr Torrey places the composition of Ezekiel in the Greek period A terminus ad quem is found in 180 B C, the mention by Sirach, and allowing for the book being some time in use before this date, Dr Torrey concludes that a date c 230 B C meets the case, especially as the author has a knowledge of Daniel i–vi, which is to be dated just before 240 B C All the points brought forward as to this late dating of the book are capable of other explanations, e g the references to Persia are doubtful (see Cheyne in *Ency Bib*, 3584 f), the rite of viii, 17, may relate to some pre-Persian Magianism, as was suggested by Moulton, or we may follow the Jewish interpreters in rendering "now they are sending a stench to my nostrils"[1], the Aramaic element in the book does not necessarily involve so late a date, and the dating of the Book of Daniel cannot yet be considered a settled matter To clench his arguments for this late date, Dr Torrey says that the last chapters (xl–xlviii) of the book more naturally spring from a priest living in Jerusalem in the third century than from one transplanted to Babylonia under Nebuchadnezzar "There must have been many who hoped for a new and more imposing edifice [than the temple of Zerubbabel], especially since the temple on Mount Gerizim

[1] See Rashi, Kimḥi, Tanḥuma, *Ki Thetse*, § 10 Many of Ezekiel's expressions are coarse to Western ears The Massora on אפם in this verse notes חד מן י״ח מלי׳ תיקון סופרים I observe that C F Kent, in *The Student's Old Testament*, 1910, follows the Jewish traditional interpretation.

was still an unpleasant rival. To prepare the plan of such a building was as natural a proceeding as could be imagined" This is carrying literalism to an extreme, and the vision, with its elaborate details of architecture and ritual, would set before the Babylonian exiles (if there were such) an ideal which had become obscured in the later days of the monarchy "It was in the quiet of the exile," says Toy, "that the development of the ritual was carried on", and this period would seem to be an appropriate one for setting before the people a true idea of God's house and its worship

In his concluding chapter Dr Torrey deals with the editor's work, showing how he wished to preserve the tradition by interpolations few in number, which are indicated by our essayist, though he makes no claim to finality in the list, by accommodation of dates, and by alterations here and there in suffixed pronouns It is maintained that we have no editorial labour apart from that of the "Babylonian" redactor, and so "the great work in its true form and character is far more valuable for our understanding of the development of Hebrew literature and religion than the utterly anomolous and self-contradictory 'exilic' prophecy, out of place as it stood, in any normal construction of Old Testament history" As we said at the beginning of this notice, he has made out a good case if his reconstruction of the history is to be accepted But there lies the whole difficulty, and that is why, as he himself anticipates, "this new picture of the prophet will be met with suspicion"

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A W GREENUP

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THE KADAMBA KULA A History of Ancient and Mediaeval Karnataka By G M MORAES $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp xxiii + 504, illustrations 56 maps 4 Bombay B X Furtado and Sons, 1931 (London Agents Luzac) 25s

The author, Mr George Moraes, is to be congratulated upon having provided us with the first complete record of the Kadamba dynasty which played such an important part

in the history of ancient and mediaeval Karnataka Not content with a thorough examination of all the published records, he has supplemented this knowledge by a successful search for fresh epigraphic and numismatic evidence in the countries formerly under the sway of the Kadambas

The first half of the book is a critical study of the chronology of this almost forgotten dynasty When it is remembered that, like the Kushan inscriptions of northern India, the grants of the Kadamba kings were not dated according to any particular era, some of the chief difficulties in the construction of a chronology of this period will be realized Readers interested in the solving of chronological puzzles will follow the painstaking author from the origin of the dynasty in the fourth century of the Christian era to the middle of the fourteenth century when the various Kadamba kingdoms were annexed to the empire of Vijayanagar

The most interesting part of the book to the general reader is that which deals with the religion, literature, architecture, and administrative systems of this period Mr Moraes throws fresh light on the progress of Jainism in southern India, and the guild system of mediaeval Karnataka He concludes his work with a valuable appendix containing both the text and translation of several hitherto unpublished inscriptions, which have been used as sources in the preparation of this volume

*418* C COLLIN DAVIES

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AJANTA The Colour and Monochrome Reproductions of the Ajanta Frescoes based on Photography With an Explanatory Text by G YAZDANI, M A, Director of Archæology, H E H the Nizam s Dominions, and an Introduction by LAWRENCE BINYON 12½ × 10, pp xix + 55, plates 53 (20 × 16). London Oxford University Press, 1930.

Ajaṇṭā has been the subject of so many books and articles, and its frescoes have been so often reproduced, that the great

ortance of the present publication may possibly be over-
d Its importance lies in the fact that never before have
imiles, based on photographs, been attempted earlier
oductions being based on hand-made copies executed
er peculiar difficulties, and inevitably therefore falling far
rt of the originals Excellent therefore, as such books as
se of Mr Griffiths and Lady Herringham were, and
uable as they will remain the difference between the
sent beautiful plates, both in line and in colour, and
earlier reproductions is quite startling It is improbable
t any attempt will be made to better them, for they are
near to the originals as modern skill and science could make
m For this achievement gratitude is primarily due to
E. H the Nizam, without whose generous support the great
erprise could never have been brought to a successful
clusion, and secondly to the body of experts who
operated by their advice, by skilful preliminary cleaning,
l by colour photography to make the facsimiles a success
e colour plates were made by Messrs Henry Stone & Son
m the colour photographs

This the first of four parts of the work consists of a
rtfolio of plates and a volume of explanatory text It is
voted entirely to Cave I a *vihāra* architecturally the finest
all the caves in which the sculpture and paintings probably
ong to the fifth century A D It is of especial importance
it contains what is generally considered the greatest
asterpiece of Indian wall painting in the celebrated *Padma-
ni* figure as well as the two foreign subjects round
ich so much heated controversy has centred In addition,
ceiling is covered with a delightful series of fanciful
itives perhaps representing as M Goloubew suggested,
Paradise of Kuvera This is in fact probably the richest,
varied interest of all the caves

Mr Lawrence Binyon contributes an eloquent and helpful
roduction in which he discusses the æsthetic qualities
the paintings and emphasizes their "supreme and central

position " in the art of Asia The main body of the text, by Mr Yazdani, consists of careful accounts of the subjects and treatment of the different episodes, mainly of *Jātaka* tales, which the plates illustrate, with some good notes on disputed points

Mr Yazdani is modest about his qualifications, but he knows the frescoes so intimately and has devoted so much study to them that his descriptions have a special value If one wished to criticize them one might possibly suggest that he is inclined to over-annotate points of drawing

The production of the whole work is of the highest excellence

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WOMAN IN PRIMITIVE MOTHER-RIGHT SOCIETIES By DR J H ROKHAAR $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp x + 541 London David Nutt (A G Berry), 1931 15*s*

Much has been written in recent years upon this topic, and the views put forward in this book will be found useful as correctives to many preconceived ideas upon this subject

The author adopts the inductive method, and examines (Chapter IV) five peoples in Melanesia, three peoples in Micronesia, four peoples of British India (Garos and Khasis in Assam, with Maravans and Nayars from Malabar), seven peoples of Northern America There are matrilineal societies in Africa—in Tanganyika, Northern Rhodesia, and the West Coast—in Australia and in Formosa Indeed much excellent work has been done by modern and trained workers in these important areas which in a comprehensive study must not be overlooked

In his discussion of the principles on which a scientific classification of social types should be framed, Durkheim recognized that " Chaque peuple a sa physionomie, sa constitution spéciale, son droit, sa morale, son organisation economique, qui ne conviennent qu'à lui " and laid down as the basis of classification the morphological principle,

criticizing and dismissing the methods and principles of workers like Steinmetz with the observation that "ces tentatives, quoique conduites par des sociologues de valeur, n'ont donné que des résultats vagues, contestables, et de peu d'utilité" In sociological studies note has therefore to be taken of common or general features as well as of what Bartlett calls group differences Both elements spring from the fact that all human societies have common problems to solve, and have attained a measure of similarity as well as much variety in the long course of time Historical data, where available, must be taken into account

In the Indian cases cited there are obviously features which in a sociological study deserve and demand attention In the case of the Garos, who speak a Tibeto-Burman language, there is a dual organization of matrilineal clans into two, and in one area three, phratries The solidarity of society is maintained by an effective reciprocity in marriage, descent, and inheritance The marriage system is simple The widow of a man must marry a man who is, or is socially classed as, her brother's son, the term brother being used in a classificatory sense The woman may have had daughters by her first husband who is, or is classed as, brother to his successor s mother If she has had more than one daughter, the elders are free to mate under the general law of phratry exogamy—the youngest however, is reserved for mating and continuing the line and may actually mate with the man (the *nokrom*) destined for her during her mother s life, and her mate is the man who is required by custom to marry her mother, the *nokrom* (The Garos p 68), thus assuming the anomalous position of husband to both mother and daughter When there is no *nokrom* for a widow to marry, she is governed by the law of *akim*, which lays down that a widow or widower may not marry again without the permission of the family of the deceased husband or wife and then only into their respective motherhoods" These facts—the general constitution of Garo society, the weakness in political structure, and

the absence of any centralizing influence, the matrilocal marriage with the widow (the paternal aunt) of the maternal uncle, and the law of Akim require weight in estimating the way in which this matrilineal society actually functions.

The Khasis speak an Austro-Asiatic language, and their society presents notable features Its social organization comprises the *kur* or clan and the *kpoh* (belly), the extended family, and the *iing* or house (The Khasis, p 63 ), and the *seng*, a grouping which in one area at least is patrilineal (op cit , p 90) The political order is developed

The youngest daughter "holds the religion" Her house is called "Ka iing seng" and is the centre of family ritual or clan puja house (p 141) In the funeral ritual (p 143), the bones of males are kept distinct from those of the females. Rules governing Khasi marriage are that a woman may not marry her father's sister's son during the lifetime of her father, or the son of her mother's brother during the life of her uncle

I have reason to believe that in the case of the youngest daughter of a Siem, she is required to marry a Khasia The word *ring kongor* describes the force used to secure the bridegroom In any case, the youngest daughter remains in the ancestral house Khasis allow, but Syntengs do not allow, elder sisters to move away and with their husbands to found separate houses, which are maintained by the joint earnings Khasis hold that the father's misdeeds may be visited on his children, so that the paternal tie is fully recognized, and the word, *kha*, means a relation on the father's side, a proof of bilaterality

Another fact to be noted is that in this area we have the Rabhas, where inheritance is patrilineal and descent matrilineal, and the Kacharis with sex descent where the sons belong to the father's group and the daughters to the mother's group In estimating the significance of any single phenomenon, I think we are compelled to consider both the functioning of an institution as part of an organic whole,

and the adjacent anthropology if only because features which have received emphasis and attention in one related society may well exist in other societies, but have received there less stress, or even have escaped observation

In regard to the Malabar area, consideration must be given to the fact that the whole of the social and religious arrangements there have been profoundly modified, disturbed, and dislocated by contact with the Nambutiri Brahman community who restrict marriage to the eldest son, thus driving the younger sons elsewhere for sexual life This feature—henogamy, as I ventured to call it—will be recognized as operative in both the Garo and Khasia groups, and must be borne in mind when examining the working of the social institutions as a whole African matrilineal societies present interesting features, and the section on secret societies, initiation of girls and boys, would have gained much if the study had included this area So, too, the Australian evidence has to be taken into account

There are numerous misprints The denunciation of other writers on this topic is to put it mildly—vigorous In some instances it is hardly just This work is, however, interesting, and within limitations will be useful It concludes with an appeal to Colonial Governments to order a description of the peoples in their territories to be made by scientifically trained men To this plea every learned society will readily assent Those of us who are engaged in training workers for the field and administrators for their service abroad would welcome did circumstances permit—a comprehensive scheme by which all governments engaged in the administration of peoples of levels of culture different from those of Europe should make ethnological work an integral and continuous feature of their activity But sympathy, tact, intelligence as well as sound method, are required, and the human qualities are of primary importance The British Government has on the whole a very good record in this matter

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DECORATIVE PATTERNS OF THE ANCIENT WORLD. By FLINDERS PETRIE. 12 × 9½, pp 16, plates lxxxviii. London University College and Bernard Quaritch, 1930.

To the student of the history of ornament, the collection of examples assembled in the plates of this book will provide a useful index for reference

As the author says in his foreword, the subject is boundless, and he has limited the geographical scope of his work to Europe and Western Asia, "with their links to other lands, but ignoring designs which are special to Siberia, China, or India" His chronological limit is placed at about A D 1000

Within these limitations, the ground covered by the patterns and the order of their arrangement are evidence of the interest taken and the knowledge applied in the selection of the material But the text appears sometimes to lack that critical regard which the subject calls for, and which we are justified in expecting from an archæologist of such great experience as Sir Flinders Petrie It is probable that his many activities allowed him insufficient time for adequate revision Had he given more time to this part of his task, it is unlikely that he would have described early examples as "origins" The spades of his own diggers are ever busy searching for conçrete arguments against the assumption of origins In using the word he therefore probably does not intend it to be understood in its literal sense

He says "the value of decoration historically is due to its having no stimulus of necessity" But what is necessity? Are not many, so called, decorative motifs, defensive or protective emblems considered by the users as necessary guardians of the home, shrine, stronghold, or tomb? The stimulus of necessity arising from the call of the spiritual self, perhaps in appeal to some unseen power—superstition in fact—is often more powerful than that of material, physical needs. In this connection we may refer also to the author's note on page 5, relating to Plate IX In alluding there to

naturalistic plant forms occurring in France and Egypt, he says, "As no magic powers can be supposed to be gained by this variety of species " But why suppose this? We simply do not know in the case of this prehistoric French specimen, whether or not magic powers were supposed to attend the plant

Returning to the foreword, in the third paragraph it is stated that the Chinese were "limited to two or three stock devices" It is unlikely that this assertion will be acceptable to students of Chinese decorative art It recalls the remarks of Owen Jones in the Chinese section of his *Grammar of Ornament* But that was published in 1856

The grouping of the examples given in the eighty-eight plates is by subject, beginning with Hero and Animals, I–III, Animals, IV–V, Vase and Animals, VI–VII, Octopus, VIII, Naturalistic Plants, IX, and so on The collection of patterns is so extensive and selected with so much care that it is a matter for regret that the text is so restricted

The notes referring to the plates indicate partially the general line of development of the motifs, but these indications are so condensed that their implication is often difficult to follow A few of the points that might, with advantage to the student, be made clearer in a future edition, may be mentioned

As already indicated, the frequent use of the word "origin" and synonymous expressions is doubtless intended to express "early"

In the note relating to Plate V it is stated that the "Glutton head is the main figure in Chinese decoration", without any qualification of period, but which we must suppose refers to the period ending with A D 1000, the author's assumed limit downwards He seems to have overlooked the wealth of design which enriched the Han and T'ang dynasties

Again, referring to Plate XIX, he says that the Dacian form of arabesque, dated 105 B C (the reference number of which is misquoted) "may have started the Chinese Han type",

206 B.C. to A.D. 220. As the two types are widely different from each other, the Dacian example far more sophisticated than the other and the Chinese period quoted commences a century earlier than the date of the Dacian specimen, elucidation of the reason for the conjecture seems to be needed.

The Lotus (Plate X) might well have been treated rather more fully in consideration of its importance as the basis of so much architectural ornament of Greece and Rome

The development of the Lily is very amply illustrated, but in the absence of adequate explanatory text the inclusion of some forms is not easy to understand

The grouping of squares, "joggles," chequers, key patterns, platting, and other straight line forms seems to be rather confused

The work does not claim to be a textbook or anything more than a collection of patterns, the order and grouping of which may be varied to agree with the progress of our knowledge of the subject

The author has done a valuable service in attaching an extensive bibliography

It is to be hoped that we may not have to wait twenty years, the recurring interval suggested, for the publication o additional plates, and that there may be no geographica boundaries in the next edition

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DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF ASSAMESE MANUSCRIPTS By HEMCHANDRA GOSWAMI $6\frac{1}{4} \times 6$, pp xxxvi + 274 Calcutta: University of Calcutta on behalf of the Government of Assam, 1930

As has been stated by Professor Bhuiyan in his interesting note on Assamese manuscripts, p xxiii, the first attempt to collect Assamese manuscripts was made by the Rev. Nathan Brown and other early workers of the American Baptist Mission, stationed at Sibsagar, in Assam The collection thus made comprised several *Buranjis*, or Ahom histories

two of which appeared in the *Arunodai*, a periodical published by the American Baptist Mission from time to time. The manuscripts, a list of which is given in the foot-note to page vii of the preface, were collected by the Rev Nathan Brown sometime between 1840-50 "In the year 1894, the late Sir Charles Lyall, who was then officiating Chief Commissioner of Assam, pointed out that the time had come for a sustained and systematic endeavour to arrest the process of destruction of such historical manuscripts as still survived" Mr Gait (now Sir Edward Gait) drew up a scheme, which was duly sanctioned, and an inquiry took place in the course of which a number of *Buranjis* came to light, a list of which is given on pages vi-vii of Gait's *History of Assam* The results of that inquiry were detailed by Sir Edward Gait in his report on the "Progress of Historical Research in Assam", published in 1897 No further attempt to rescue the *puthis* from destruction was made till 1912, when Sir Archdale Earle, then Chief Commissioner of the province, sanctioned the deputation of the late Srijut Hema Chandra Goswami to collect and describe all the ancient manuscripts which are of interest or importance in the Assam Valley districts When this deputation was sanctioned people had no idea that such a wealth of interesting and valuable material would be brought to light It was known that in the *sattras* (religious monastic institutions) there were many *puthis*, and in the possession of private persons also, but it was little thought that the work of collection, and afterwards of description, would be so successful The result has been a valuable book, containing an excellent description of the manuscripts, accompanied by an introduction and note by Professor S K Bhuiyan, of the Cotton College Gauhati which gives a useful preliminary sketch of the material collected, besides other interesting information There is a good index to the main work In the choice of the late Srijut Hema Chandra Goswami, no better selection could have been made, for the author had shown a special aptitude for research work, he had had the advantage

of serving in the Assam secretariat under Sir Edward Gait, and was himself a gosain; further, he possessed an attractive personality, and therefore was well fitted to obtain the confidence and good graces of other gosains, and other important personages in the field of research. Although not in possession of a degree in Sanskrit, he was well versed in that language. He was a recognized authority on Assamese, and in his day one of the keenest protagonists for the cause of that language and its literature; in this connection may be mentioned his work in joint editing and helping to see through the Press, the Assamese portion of the *Hemakoshā*, the standard etymological dictionary of the Assamese language. It is a matter of the greatest regret that Hema Chandra Goswami did not live to see the publication of his descriptive catalogue, for he died in 1928, the year before the work appeared from the Press. The manuscripts have been catalogued in two parts, viz. the Assamese, including Ahom, manuscripts, and the Sanskrit. Only three Ahom *puthis* have been included, e.g. Amar, No. 2, a dictionary of the Ahom language, No. 39, Deo Buranji I, and No. 40, Deo Buranji II. The important Ahom Buranji, translated and edited by Rai Sahib Golap Chandra Barua, and published under the orders of the Assam Government in 1930, does not appear in the catalogue. It is stated in the preface to this Buranji that Sir Edward Gait obtained therefrom the material for his *History of Assam*. Owing to considerations of space, it will not be possible to mention in this review more than a few of the more important and interesting *puthis*. The following are some of them:—

No. 35. Dāk Bhanita. This contains the wise sayings of Dāk Purusha, which are famous in Assam, as also in Bengal. The sayings embrace many subjects, the best known being those dealing with agriculture. Dāk, a man of humble origin, was born in the village of Lehi Dangarā, in the Barpeta subdivision of the Kamrup district.

No. 42. Dipika Chandra, published for the first time by

the late Rai Madhab Chandra Bardalai Bahadur This book, *inter alia*, describes the Chandra Bipras and Surjya Bipras, and in its third chapter asserts that the Daibajnyas, or Ganaks, are the equals of the Brahmans As might have been expected from such a statement, the publication of the book caused some controversy

No 48 Gitar Puthi is a collection of religious songs, amongst which are some said to have been composed by the Ahom Rajas, Rudra Singha and Siva Singha, "rendered in excellent Assamese"

No 53 Guru Charitra, by Damodar Das, being a short account of Sankar Deva's life Sankar Deva, the great Vaishnavite reformer of Assam, is said to have been born in A D 1449, and to have died in A D 1569 If these dates are correct, Sankar Deva reached the great age of 120 years, but in this connection Gait's *History of Assam*, p 57, may be seen Sir Charles Eliot, in his interesting article on "Hinduism in Assam" (*JRAS*, October, 1910, pp 1155–86), stated (p 1169), that the Vaishnavism which entered Assam was of Chaitanya's School This opinion, however, has been strongly combated, and, in the writer's opinion, refuted, by competent Assamese authority, e g Srijut Satyanath Barah, and Rai Bahadur Kanaklāl Barua, who occupies a high position in the Government of Assam This last authority wrote a very full and interesting note for the writer on this subject It is, however, beyond the scope of this review to pursue this matter further at present, but it is hoped that it may be possible for the writer to do this in a separate article should time and opportunity permit

No 55 Hastividvanaba, the ocean of the science of elephants This is one of the most interesting, if not the most interesting of the collection The author is Sukumar Barkaith, and the names of the artists of the numerous and effective illustrations are Dilbar and Dosai The *puthi* was written and illustrated under the orders of the Ahom King Siva Singha and his Queen, Ambika Devi, in Saka 1656, or

A.D. 1734. The illustrations are of considerable merit, the paintings being water colours The paints used must have been specially good, for the colours are to this day quite fresh and are in nearly every case extremely well preserved A certain amount of gold paint evidently was used the lustre of which still remains The subjects of the paintings are different types of elephants, as well as scenes from the Ahom Court Elephants are classified according to the Hindu, the Bengal, and the Ahom methods The Bengal or Muhammedan method is the one generally in use at the present day Under it there are seven kinds of elephants, e g Singhali, Belcā, Doāchaliar, Komoriā, or Komorābandhā, this latter being of short stature, round body, with fore and hind quarters of equal height, Nagabānchi Dariār, with a tail reaching the ground, and Mriga, which is a tall long-legged elephant Good and bad points of elephants are given, and lists of medicines, with their ingredients, are included An interesting description of the installation ceremony of the Royal Elephant is stated at length The origin of the *puthi* is said to have been in the country of the Raja of Kheh, or China, whence it came to *Mān des*, or Burma How it came to Assam is not clear, but as communication between Burma and Assam, in olden days, was comparatively frequent, it is quite possible the *puthi* came across the Patkai range from Burma to Assam, like Chung Deo, the patron god of the Ahoms This *puthi* was examined by Sir John Marshall, who agreed to publish it officially, but the War came, which rendered the project impracticable If it is the intention of the Assam Government to publish it now, great care should be exercised in the reproduction of the valuable illustrations and, if possible, the *puthi* should be acquired from the owner, Srijut Lokeswar Bura Gohain, and placed in the Assam Museum

No. 155 Vamsabali, being the history and origin of the Koch kings, by Surgyakhari Daibajna, is a very fine illuminated *puthi*, containing 771 Slokas in Assamese verse,

which has been published in book form by the Assam Administration. Sir Edward Gait has referred to this *puthi* in his *Koch Kings of Kamrup* Naranarāyan, the greatest of the Koch kings, receives special mention here as being the patron of Assamese literature and art

No 12 of the Sanskrit *puthis* is important as being by Krishnaram Nyāyā-Bagish, the founder of the family of the Parbatiya gosains For information regarding this gosain, a reference is invited to page 177 of Gait's *History of Assam* This puthi contains an elaborate process of worshipping the goddess Durga, with the appropriate *mantras*

No 16 is the celebrated Gita Gobinda, by Jaya Deva The date of this is said to be A D 1200 But this must be the date of the original The contents are the exploits of Krishna, e g "Krishna amuses himself with the *gopis* and Rādhā, his first love, weeps bitterly, and Krishna is the subject of her reverie by day and in dreams by night A milkmaid comes and sings -

"Thy lover, thy Krishna, is dancing in glee
With troops of young maidens, forgetful of thee"

No 25 is a copy of the Hitopudesha made in Saka 1729, transcribed in Assamese character, and there is a good copy of Kumārā Sambhava, No 36, by Kali Das, the famous Hindu poet

Many other manuscripts deserve mention, but space does not permit

Before concluding, it should be stated that a special debt of gratitude is due to the Government of Assam for the great interest it has shown throughout, and for its generosity in providing funds Lastly, Professor S K Bhuivan, the author of the interesting introductory note, deserves a full meed of praise, not only for his present work but for all the valuable research he has carried out in his capacity as secretary of the Kāmarūpa Anusandhān Samiti The writer of this review was associated with the late Srijut Hemachandra Goswami in his work of collecting these manuscripts, but the descriptions

are the work of Srijut Hemachandra Goswami alone The work has been well printed and produced by the Calcutta University Press, Senate House, Calcutta

*P 33* P R GURDON.

LA FEMME BENGALIE DANS LA LITTÉRATURE DU MOYEN AGE By J HELEN ROWLANDS 10 × 6¼, pp vi + 241. Paris Adrien Maisonneuve, 1930

The researches of Dr Dīneścandra Sen into the treasures of old Bengali literature have been worthily continued and added to by this work of one of his most brilliant pupils, who is the only European who has so far graduated as a Master of Arts of the Calcutta University in Bengali

The book is an attempt to reconstruct the domestic life of Bengali women in the middle ages from the literature of the period 1203–1757 In such an attempt one is handicapped by the absence of critical editions of the texts to be used as sources, and by the lack of any reliable chronology In these circumstances it might have been better to have limited the scope of the inquiry to one work or class of works, for example, the *Manasāmangala* or the *Candīmangala* Miss Rowlands has naturally given a large amount of her space to these two cycles of poems, but she has also included evidence from many other sources of widely differing dates, including some quite modern editions of folk-tales like "Ṭhākurmār Jhuli" and other collections by Dakṣiṇārañjan Mitra Majumdār She has also availed herself of modern works describing the Bratas at present practised by women in Bengal The result is a very composite picture containing material from different periods

The main body of the book falls into two parts, the first dealing with the domestic life of women as reflected in the literature, and the second giving a sketch of the lives of some of the women famous in Bengali legend and history. The general reader would be well advised to read the second part

first, in order that he may understand the various references contained in the first part.

The book will be extremely valuable to all students of the old Bengali poetical literature, which deserves much more attention than it has yet received as a source, and indeed almost the only source, of information on the life and customs of Bengal in the period before the East India Company's administration of the country

It is to be hoped that the author will follow up this more general sketch with other and more detailed descriptions of the contents of individual works for which her preliminary survey of the whole field has certainly admirably prepared her In particular one may perhaps be permitted to suggest that she should give us a critical and annotated edition of either Bijay Gupta's *Padmā Purāna* or the *Kabikankana Candī* Her interesting and valuable chapter dealing with the celebrated women of the Vaisnava movement also makes one wish that she would give us a more extended treatment of the subject

*188* W SUTTON PAGE

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA For the first time critically edited by VISHNU S SUKTHANKAR, Ph D Ādiparvan - Fascicule 5 11½ × 8½, pp 401–640 = 239 Poona Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1931

This fifth fascicule represents the fifth annual instalment of the gigantic task begun by Dr Sukthankar, a brief account of which has already been given by me in the pages of this *Journal* It contains sixty more adhyāyas of the Ādiparvan of the *Mahābhārata* As there are nearly seventy more adhyāyas of the Ādiparvan still to appear, and the Ādiparvan only constitutes roughly one-tenth of the whole epic, it will be obvious that at the present rate of progress, which hardly seems likely to be accelerated, few living scholars can hope to witness the conclusion of this ambitious enterprise.

The work continues to be carried out on the same lines and in the same masterly manner, which has already gained the enthusiastic commendations of all the chief Sanskrit scholars in India, England, the continent, and America This last fascicule contains a very interesting editorial note, commenting on passages of the Vulgate text which are omitted in the Kāshmīrī version, which has been adopted as the basis of the constituted text This Kāshmīrī version is considerably shorter than the Vulgate text, as represented in the printed editions published in Calcutta in 1834, and following years, and in Bombay in 1878, while it is very much shorter than the Southern recension As compared with the Bombay text four whole adhyāyas and parts of four other adhyāyas have been omitted altogether in the part of the Ādiparvan dealt with in this fascicule This fascicule contains five more of the charming coloured illustrations painted by the Chief of Aundh, to which reference was made in the previous notice They add greatly to the attractiveness of each fascicule

*305* R P DEWHURST

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STUDIES IN THE LANKAVATARA SUTRA By DAISETZ TEITARO SUZUKI $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp xxxii + 464, pl 1, table 1. London G. Routledge and Sons and the Eastern Buddhist Society, 1930

The author describes the Lankāvatāra Sutra as " one of the most important texts of Mahayana Buddhism, in which all its principal tenets are presented, including the teaching of Zen " He has endeavoured to extract from its confused and confusing pages the main elements of its teaching, and has placed students of Mahayana Buddhism deeply in his debt by the publication of these studies The late Dr Bunyū Nanjō published a Sanskrit version in 1923, and it is a pleasure to learn that the author has himself translated the Sutra into English, which translation he hopes to make available

to Western students He says that "Mahayana Buddhism is just beginning to be known in the West", and in view of the paucity of translated material it is not surprising that many, who presume to knowledge, are really ignorant of the true meaning of Far Eastern developments of this cult.

Tradition says that when Bodhidharma was urged to name the sutra which best agreed with his intuitional views he handed a copy of this sutra to his disciple Hui-k'e A portrait of Bodhidharma, the "wall-gazing" father of Ch'an or Zen Buddhism, is given as a frontispiece, it was painted by Mu-ch'i of the Sung dynasty Four translations of the sutra have been made into Chinese, the first by Dharmaraksha was lost "as early as A D 700", the second, by Gunabhadra in 443, is possibly the one given to Hui-k'e, the third was by Bodhiruci in 513, and the fourth by Śikshananda and others in 700-4 There are two Tibetan translations from Chinese

"The whole Laṅkāvatāra is just a collection of notes unsystematically strung together," says the author, and "it is useless to attempt to divide them into sections, or chapters, under some specific title" In these studies the sutra is treated subjectively The author shows, *inter alia*, that it contains "the doctrines of Mind-only, Tathāgata-garbha and Ālaya vijñāna", but it deals as its main thesis with the "all importance of an inner revelation" It is this "inner light" which is its fundamental feature, and this is the doctrine which Bodhidharma emphasized to the minimizing or disclaiming of book knowledge The ideas that things are devoid of self substance (*svabhāva*), that is, they are by nature empty (*śūnya*), that the world is nothing but Mind, that in order to reach the ultimate end of Buddhahood one must transcend all the limitations of dualism and particularization, and finally that the state of enlightenment must be realized within one's self these are the common property of Mahayana Buddhism, but in the *Laṅkāvatāra* these ideas are developed in a way peculiar to this sutra By this I mean that it lays

special emphasis on the importance of self-realization, without which the Buddhist life remains a mere philosophical exercise . . the essence of Zen Buddhism must be sought in this that the constant refrain of the *Lankāvatāra* is the all-importance of an inner perception (*pratyātmagati*) or self-realization (*svasiddhānta*)" The value of the sutra "lies in its perpetual upholding of this intuitive element", "an inner perception of the deepest truth, which goes beyond language and reasoning," for "the world, as seen in the light of self-realization, is to be interpreted in terms of absolute idealism"

The author expresses the usual Far Eastern view, however vigorously it may be disputed, that the Hinayanist's "object of spiritual discipline does not extend beyond his own interest", while that of the Bodhisattva is to impart all his attainments to his fellow beings "Mahayana stands firmly on two legs, *Prajñā* and *Karunā*, transcendental idealism and all-embracing affection for all kinds of beings."

The chapter on Mind-only (*Cittamātra*) naturally is of particular interest, for this doctrine runs through the sutra "as if it were warp and weft" The sutra "makes everything hinge on this point, the salvation of the world not to say anything of the individual" "Speaking in the modern way, the theory of 'Mind-only' is a form of pure idealism All that we habitually consider having an objective value, such as our own body (*deha*), property (*bhoga*), and the land (*pratishthāna*) where we have our abodes, are no more than our own mind, projected and recognized as externally extending and real Even Nirvāna, the truth of suchness, emptiness, reality—all these are but our mental creations, having no objective validity as far as they are forms of discrimination"

Other subjects are discussed in varying detail, e g the Śūnya doctrine, that of No-birth (*Anutpada*), Nirvāṇa, the Trikāya, the Tathāgata, the Bodhisattva Altogether the book is a valuable compendium of Mahayana Buddhism as viewed from the Far Eastern standpoint, and especially that

of the Ch'an or Zen school The extensive Sanskrit-Chinese-English glossary at the end of the book is a useful addition to this scholarly interpretation of a difficult sutra.

*167* W E SOOTHILL

A COPTIC DICTIONARY Compiled by W E CRUM, M A., Hon Ph D Berlin Part II ϣⲓⲛⲉ–ⲛⲟⲩϫⲉ $11\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, pp vii + (252 – 89) 163 Oxford Clarendon Press, 1930

The excellence of the first part of this great undertaking is even surpassed by that of the second, which contains a page and a half of corrections and additions, the latter drawn from old sources as well as new, and including seven hitherto unrecorded words In the new part, consisting of 163 pages in double columns, the richness of vocabulary and illustration is marvellous As before, every possible letter and stop is jettisoned to make room for important matter The result is an orderly Thesaurus for scholars to hunt in with the greatest profit, curbing their impatience, however, until the formidable remainder of the collection is available The new vigour with which Coptic and the allied studies, theological and linguistic, are pursued will be encouraged and made effective by this potent instrument of research We are indeed grateful to the author and his coadjutors that they did not permit the war, which put an end to so many promising schemes, to extinguish the Dictionary

*202* F LL GRIFFITH

EUROPE AND CHINA A SURVEY OF THEIR RELATIONS FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 1800 By G F HUDSON, M A, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford Edward Arnold and Co

Of the many books that have been published in recent years in connection with China, this is one of the most scholarly and original It shows wide research, and is written in a style that interests the reader from the beginning to the end

Its object is to show the influences of the Hellenic culture of Europe in China, and of the civilization of China in Europe from the earliest times until 1800 The survey of this long period of years begins with the legendary journey of Aristeas of Proconnesus, dating from either the sixth or the seventh century B C, to the land of the Hyperboreans which the author identifies with Northern China He then discusses the embassy of Chang Ch'ien to Ferghana, sent in 128 B C by the Emperor Wu Ti of the Han dynasty, and gives an account of the campaigns west of the Pamir divide which ended in bringing a Chinese army under Li Kuang-li to the valley of the Iaxertes, where it "encamped perhaps on the very ground which two hundred and twenty-seven years before had seen the tents of Alexander of Macedon" But the great march of Alexander from the Hellespont to the Pamirs and the Panjab did not open a road to China "It was the Chinese who first by an exploring diplomacy, and then by force of arms, broke through to the land which alike for Achaemenid and Macedonian had been nothing but a cul-de-sac" In Chapter III a detailed, instructive, and very interesting history of the Traffic of Silk is given, followed in Chapter IV by an account of the smuggling into the Roman Empire of the silk-worm moth, about 552 A D, with the introduction of which "the commerce in raw silk naturally began to dwindle, and at last ceased altogether"

After all contact between Europe and China had been lost for nearly four centuries, mutual knowledge and communication were restored by the Mongol conquests under the great Emperor Chingiz Khan The Mongol Empire at its zenith included both China in the East and Russia in the West, and a single suzerain power prevailed from the Black Sea to the Pacific The *Pax Tatarica*, described in Chapter V, was established, and "the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries gave to Europe a knowledge of China such as had never been transmitted during even the most flourishing days of the ancient silk traffic A great idea of religious *Weltpolitik*

gives character to the travel to China under the *Pax Tatarica*, and imbues it with a will to observe and know which is lacking in the purely commercial travel of antiquity Before the thirteenth century Christianity had been represented in China by Nestorian missionaries from Mesopotamia, now the Latin Catholicism of Europe entered the field and took the lead Its missions were obliterated after 1368, when the Mongols, who had favoured them, were expelled from the country, but they were renewed after the Portuguese had opened the all-sea routes from Europe to China, and from the sixteenth century up to the present day Christian religious propaganda has been one of the main factors in European-Chinese relations" The history of the discovery of the sea routes to China round Africa and by Mexico are given in Chapter VI, "The Way round Africa," and Chapter VII, "The Way by Mexico," and in Chapter VIII, "China Besieged," is described foreign relations with China from 1514 to the close of the eighteenth century, during which period the nations of Europe drew a cordon round China both by sea and land, "so that at the end of the period the country bore a resemblance to a walled city in a state of siege" In the two concluding chapters, Chapters IX and X, entitled The Rococo Style" and "The Jesuits in Peking", the author deals with the intellectual contacts established between Europe and China by the Jesuit missionaries at Peking between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, and by the influence of Chinese art in Europe as manifested by the development of the Rococo style "In France a new style full of Chinese traits arises at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and for a brief period dominates taste in most European countries' The author is of opinion that "because of the complete extinction of the cult of China after 1789, the great majority of European historians have failed to do justice to the influence of Chinese ideas in eighteenth century Europe", and he states that, "in spite of the advances which specialized sinological scholarship made in the nineteenth

century, it is true to say that the ordinary educated public was better informed about China in the eighteenth."

This is a book that should be read and studied by all who take an interest in our relations with China. If it reaches a second edition, the index, which is not sufficiently detailed, should be made more complete, and a general map, giving the names of all the places mentioned in the text, together with a bibliographical list of all the works to which reference is made in the footnotes, should be added.

477 J H STEWART LOCKHART.

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TRAITÉ DE GRAMMAIRE HÉBRAIQUE Par MAYER LAMBERT, Directeur d'Études à l'École des Hautes Études Fascicule I $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp vi + 224 Paris Ernest Leroux, 1931

Notwithstanding that Hebrew grammars may be counted by the hundred, and most students of Semitic languages may possess more than one, there seems to be always room for more This is doubtless due to the fact that every teacher believes that his predecessors have not put things as they ought to be stated, and it is better to produce something absolutely fresh rather than recommend an old work or a reprint, things which are seldom really satisfactory, even when compiled by a celebrated Hebraist of old time

In the present case, however, the publication is of the nature of a pious memorial of a deeply-learned Hebraist and a well-beloved teacher, for the author is no longer with us, and the work is considered to be so important that those who knew him when he was alive could do no less for his memory than publish this important grammatical treatise, to which he had devoted the last five years of his life—years of suffering and distress

That his friends and pupils were right there is no doubt, for the work may be classed among the fullest and most detailed of its kind and its subject. The publisher, Ernest

**Leroux's successor**, who gives the details concerning the author outlined here, tells us that this first part includes the *sémasologie*, the phonetics, and a part of the morphology as far as the end of the study of the noun The second part, continuing the morphology with the study of the verb, is now in the Press

Naturally a book of the extent which this will assume on completion is bound to contain details concerning the grammar of the Hebrew language not always found in the grammatical works which have preceded it From the books dealing with the Akkadian (Semitic Babylonian) language and geography the author has been able to fill out the details of the position of Hebrew with regard to the other Semitic languages, and the pronunciation of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet are more fully and more correctly stated than in many of the grammars already known

As this first part of the treatise contains no less than 640 sections, it will be gathered that it is exceedingly detailed, and owing to its extent it is difficult to single out any chapter or division of the book for special notice Thus that part dealing with the construct-case of the nouns occupies sections 225–44, covering more than twelve pages It is needless to say that this is a very informative chapter, giving much food for thought From it we learn how *d me hinnām elohe miqqārôb*, and *n bie millibbām* ought to be translated, and what " the chastisement of our peace (מוּסַר שְׁלוֹמֵנוּ) really means The examples in this division of the book as in all the others, are numerous and though containing nothing new to the Hebraist make the book especially useful to the beginner

In addition to the explanation of the use of the vowel-points, the portion dealing with the accents will be found by students to be exceedingly complete Diagrams illustrate their use, both in poetry and in prose and will be appreciated by those who like something in the nature of a picture

The rule for the pronunciation of two *shewas* in succession at the end of a word is explained in section 84 When this

occurs a "furtive *ĕ*" is introduced between them, to enable the two consonants to be pronounced This rule ought apparently to be observed also in the first component of the Babylonian name of Daniel, Belteshazzar The Babylonian inscriptions imply that it should be read Belets(h)azzar, not Belteshazzar—"(Nebo, Merodach, or possibly Yawah), preserve thou his life"

In a footnote on page 7 the various styles of Hebrew writing are given, among them being *k thab Asshurith* "Assyrian writing" This, the author explains, means merely Aramean Though the Assyrians, in their dockets, etc, used the so-called Phœnician (really, seemingly, old Aramean), it is probable that the Babylonian style of Aramean is meant In this case it was not the old so-called Phœnician forms, but the late running styles known as Syriac With regard to this, it may be noted, that the late Hormuzd Rassam always called it Chaldean, doubtless because he was a "Chaldean" Christian It may be noted that some of the ordinary "square" Hebrew characters bear a strong likeness to their Aramaic equivalents in the Babylonian dockets The Aramaic (Syriac) forms generally used must, therefore, have been developed on different lines to produce the "running hand" with which we are familiar

It may be noted that the abandonment of Akkadian as a lingua franca, with its complicated syllabary, by the ancient nations of Western Asia was an important step It naturally took place after the date of the Tel-al-Amarna letters, but the date at which the so-called Phœnician alphabet came into use, and the stages of its development, have still to be discovered The simplicity of the new system of writing must have attracted the attention of all intelligent men, especially the commercial element It is probably due to this circumstance—the use of a twenty-two-letter alphabet for trade-documents and inscriptions cast as it were more or less in the same mould—that those twenty-two letters of which it ultimately consisted were all regarded as consonants, as the

author of this treatise suggests Most of the nations which accepted it must have felt, sooner or later, the need of the vowel-sounds, especially in names, as the Egyptians seem to have done It was Hebrew, however, which developed the vocalization most elaborately, hence its importance among the old Semitic languages, Ethiopic coming next When once developed, the vocal system emphasized again the inferiority of Akkadian, which could only indicate, very imperfectly, the sounds *a*, *e*, *i*, and *u*, though the Greek transcriptions show that the sound of *o* in Akkadian and Sumerian was not uncommon, and that *t* (ת) was often pronounced as *th* This grammatical treatise shows us that the Hebrew scribes, whilst performing a very useful service, gave way to the temptation of elaborating too much

The notes upon the different forms of the language at different periods give the reasons for variations in words and grammatical forms very clearly, and it is pointed out in this connection that in the poetry the moods and tenses of the verbs are less precisely indicated than in the prose It is difficult to decide as to possible dialectic differences in Israel and in Judah

The author regarded the substitution of Aramean for Hebrew as having taken place after the Babylonian captivity The influence of the Exile in Samaria must have contributed to the adoption of this language and script But the Assyrian and Babylonian Aramaic dockets prove that Aramean was used as the language of trade long before the captivity at Babylon. Hebrew, however, must have continued to exist for a long time, especially in Judea The Hebrew of the *Mishna* is strongly Aramaicized The participle is often substituted for the personal tenses (as in Akkadian), and the *waw* conversive is no longer used

The late M Lambert's *Treatise of Hebrew Grammar* is likely to become a standard book of reference



T G P

**Le Problème des Centaures** Étude de Mythologie comparée Indo-Européenne By **Georges Dumézil.** 10 × 7, pp viii + 278, plates 2 Paris Paul Geuthner, 1929.

This is a work of considerable length, and is not only valuable on account of the conclusions arrived at, but also from the multitude of details brought together, and the large number of authorities quoted or referred to. We realize from this bulky book that the question of the Centaurs is a big one. The first chapter deals with the festivals in which the modern representatives of the Centaurs appear Afterwards we have the Persian or Mazdean legends, in the course of which *Sām* the *Narīmānen*, who killed the demon *Gandarēpak*, is one of the subjects, and we are told that at the period between winter and spring, in Iran, rites sad and gay are performed In this Mlle Menant, the French lady-specialist, and Hyde, who wrote in 1760, are often referred to Of special interest is Chapter VI, headed " Gondu et le Mariage " —" Marriage under the sea, where dwelleth the race of the Centaurs "

On page 26 the author gives an account of the horses in the Chek masquerades which imitate the postchaise of old times These are harnessed to a kind of sledge in which there is a postillion and a passenger If, in their course, they come across a girl, " Woe to her ! " The girl is seized, dragged into the vehicle, and the whole thing starts on a mad gallop. In the end, the horses run away, the coach sways, and finally overturns, and the occupants are thrown out in a heap This is said to be the final scene, and is, in fact, the result aimed at

Under the heading " the exploits of the horse ", the author says that, as in all similar masquerades, the animals have a grudge against women, especially girls He quotes several examples of this, ending with a description of the Greek " Arab steed of the New Year " at Vlakhojani, which wears a mask of goat-skin, with a beard of the same animal He

'steals" an affianced girl, and is killed by her future husband.

Considerable space is given to the various details bearing upon such symbolic practices as the above

Treating of the Centaurs of Greece, the homeland of these strange compound mythological beings, M. Dumézil laments the absence of exact information as to the time and place where the legends of the Greek gods and heroes arose, and the rituals associated therewith This, however (he adds), is not the case in the matter of Heracles' twelfth labour, in which he undertook to capture Cerberus This feat he could not accomplish without being initiated into the Eleusian mysteries, and for this initiation he had to be purified from the murder of the Centaurs The Minor Mysteries were therefore instituted for him, and were connected with the spring equinox, with which the Centaur was also associated It is supposed that Heracles became, by his initiation and his exploits, a kind of Pluto as dispenser of riches, whom men addressed in preference to the true Pluto When we see this succession of facts—murder of Centaurs, capture of Cerberus and the ride of Pluto on the back of Heracles—we can only think of the myths which Iran attaches to its festival of the spring equinox Keresaspa killing successively Srvara and Gandarepa, and the various scenes of the 'bestriding of demons' by the hero be the hero Keresaspa himself, or Tahmurop, or Jemshid 'In this Heracles and Pluto doubtless take the place of more ancient heroes, for a very archaic Attic vase to which M Dieterich has called attention, shows, even at that date, scenes evidently carnavalesque', where bestrider, bestridden, and horn of plenty occupy the same respective places as in the myth of Pluto and Heracles, but in which the central group of personages is surrounded and *carried* by a procession of naked men, ichthyphallic, and with men as devout as you like It is a sort of triumph of Jemshid or of Kubera in wildest style—and at the same time a masquerade of the type of those which Europe still practises."

We all know what the Centaurs as represented by the great

sculptors of Greece, were like—the body and head of a man joined to that of a horse where the horse's neck should be. They take their name from a tribe, lovers of women and wine who dwelt in the mountains of Thessaly They were probably noted horsemen, hence the combination of man and horse, either on two legs or on four, which the Greeks present to us. Nothing quite like them seems to have existed either in Egypt or among the Assyro-Babylonians, a near approach thereto being the winged bulls of Sennacherib which guarded the gates of Nineveh These seem to have had not only the four legs of a bull, but also the arms of a man That the Greek Centaurs should have been imitated in the other countries of Europe is not to be wondered at, and the tracing of the connections of these mythical beings is the task which M Dumézil has set himself—a task which he has performed with considerable success It will probably be the standard work upon the Centaurs, to which all students of the subject must necessarily refer

This study of the problem of the Centaurs takes our author very far and wide. He seeks his material in Wales, in Germany in Russia, and even in the far Indies and China There seems to have been hardly a nation of the ancient world which did not possess some legend similar to those connected with the Centaurs in Greece and the spring (or winter) festivals with which they were associated But are all similar legends always connected ? Among those referred to is that of Romulus and Remus on the Tiber, and their salvation by the she-wolf, which has its parallel in the exposure of Sargon of Agadé on the Euphrates and Moses on the Nile Are these borrowings, or are they simply a proof of the working of men's minds in the same direction, owing to the convolutions of their brains being more or less alike ?

Most interesting as parallels are the masquerades which are common in all parts of the world The festivals characterized by these extend from Christmas to Easter, but the choice of the date was capricious. The masquerades of Europe probably

celebrate divisions of times and seasons The changes in the calendar are, or have been, so erratic and unscientific, that we are often confused when dealing with festivals handed down to us from remote ages or past centuries (In connection with this, it seems likely that the reform of the calendar said to be now in progress, is likely to be of considerable advantage ) M Dumézil admires the learned men who attribute to the Indo-European world—Babylon s pupil—the task of according the solar and the lunar years It is possible, but it would be very fine (if it could be done)

As winter, owing to its nature, was (and still is) a period of social life, hence the masquerades and processions usual at this time of the year In connection with this the author points out that the word *Calendar* naturally comes from the Latin *Calends*, forms of which occur in most of the languages of Europe, " and the Jews have finished by calling *qalandas* a festival of the winter solstice

The dummy horses, popular and rough imitations of the Centaurs, appear on plates i and ii, as has already been stated The originals, when in procession, must have added much to the fun of the festivities

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DÉTAILS RELEVÉS DANS LES RUINES DE QUELQUES TEMPLES ÉGYPTIENS, avec Traduction Anglaise par Mlle D M BELAIFFE 1re Partie Abydos Texte complété par G JEQUIER 2e Partie Behbeit-el-Hagher Appendix Samanoud Texte rédigé d apres les notes D'ED NAVILLE et accompagné de descriptions tirées d'anciens auteurs par Mme NAVILLE 15 × 11¾, pp 67, pls 31, planches phototypiques 6, planches photographiques 11, vignettes 6 Paris Paul Geuthner, 1930 Frs 250

The descriptive portion of this work occupies 67 pages in French and English side by side Abydos finishes on page 37, and Behbeit-el-Hagher begins on page 40, and finishes on

page 63, the remainder (thirty-two lines in the English rendering) is devoted to *Samanood*

The reproductions are exceedingly well done, as might be expected from a scholar of Edouard Naville's experience and reputation, and the photographs (mostly views) are likewise fair

Madame Naville, in her *Avant-Propos*, tells us that the book is the result of excavations made by M Naville in the winters of 1910–14 for the Egypt Exploration Society to the west of two temples at Abydos—those of the *Osireion* and the Grand Reservoir behind the temple of Seti I, in which she took part They worked at the copies of the frescos and reliefs reproduced in the first part of this work All these had been carefully revised by M Naville, but his death in 1926 has left two rooms unfinished

The description of five of the plates is due to M Gustave Jéquier

These ruins of Egypt's old temples have been examined and reproduced by hundreds of savants and travellers, so they are well known, but there is doubtless always something more to be said about them, and new editions are always needed from time to time, so the publication of this book upon the temples of Abydos will doubtless be appreciated That there is always something more to be said is not to be wondered at, when we take into consideration the number of scenes and the figures shown in this book, and it will be realized that the work entailed in redrawing them must have occupied M Naville for a considerable time The work, however, was certainly well worth doing, as completions and improvements were in many cases possible This was especially the case, for example, in the pictures shown on plates ii–iv, which were taken from "Room B" This room has no carvings, the hieroglyphics and pictures being only painted These had suffered with the lapse of time, so the explorers thought it best to place on record what was left of them A translation of the inscription is given, and there are interesting descriptions of the

scenes. The pictures deal with the slaughter of animals for sacrifice The details of this scene are interesting, and give an idea of the value of the sculptures and inscriptions in these temples as a whole The description of the pictures is necessarily minute

But in all probability it is the historical portion which will interest the reader most In the temple of Ramesses II, a building which it has been agreed to call a Memnonium, there is the record of the great battle of which Ramesses II was evidently very proud, namely, the battle of Kadesh There is no need to enter into details of this conflict, as it is well known, except to say that the incidents of the poetical record here given are well told, with the latest views and theories concerning the conflict and the geographical situation As is also well known, it forms the theme of what is called the Poem of Pentaur, and is of extreme interest from a military point of view Spies, it is pointed out, were questioned under the bastinado

The book is a worthy production, and reflects honour on all who have taken part therein It is gratifying to see such additions to the great scholar's life-work and, as such, will be much appreciated An index would have been an advantage, but its production would doubtless have beer troublesome and to print it would certainly have entailed extra expense

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BEITRÄGE ZUR RECHTSGESCHICHTE IM BEREICHE DER KEILSCHRIFTLICHEN RECHTSQUELLEN Von MARIAN SAN NICOLO 7¾ × 5 pp xiv + 273, plates 9 period table 1 Oslo H Aschehoug, London Williams and Norgate 1931

This book which is published under the auspices of th Institutet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, is a ver

complete survey of the discoveries in the domain of Assyro-Babylonian law, and the progress made in its interpretation and development. It is described on the first title-page as belonging to "Serie A Forelesninger, XIII", and we learn from the Vorwort that the book is the outcome of some lectures which the author gave before the Institute in 1930. The chapters deal with the extent and development of the history of Assyro-Babylonian law, the position of the documents in Near Eastern and Egyptian law, the laws and the collections of legal documents, the clay tablets as the originals of civil law, and sidelights upon the law of debt in Mesopotamia It will be seen from these headings that the work covers a wide range of legal study in that section of Assyriological literature, and cannot fail to be of interest to those who make a speciality of it It may be noted that the list of books quoted occupies four pages

There are probably but few Assyriologists who have not been attracted by the many Assyro-Babylonian legal documents and the multitudes of contract-tablets—often themselves legal documents of great importance—which have been found They have been able to trace the changes which have taken place through a couple of thousand years, during which, passing from nation to nation, the laws of the Sumerians were translated into Akkadian for the Babylonians, and passed into Assyria on the north, Elam on the east, and the land of the Hittites in the far north-west Other lands around probably used them, and may later furnish important details bearing upon them It is with these matters that the book now under consideration deals, and furnishes details and an exceedingly interesting survey

Concerning the differences in the penalties, in the countries mentioned, the author refers to the *Lex Talionis* (p. 74), which appears so prominently in the Code of Ḫammu-rabi, adding to the eye for eye, bone for bone, and tooth for tooth, the further punishment of cutting off the hand of anyone who should strike his father Also there is the cutting off of the

breast of a faithless nurse, and the cutting out of the tongue of a foundling who should deny his foster-parents, this last showing the light in which the Assyro-Babylonians viewed such an offence "The system of penalties is therefore very severe: the death-penalty is often threatened, and in various forms Maiming occurs also in cases not entailing retaliation, whilst bodily chastisement is only inflicted in one case, where the penalty is sixty strokes with a stick" (§ 202). Very common were fines to compensate an injured person, but without any sharply defined difference between smart-money and compensation In contrast to this, imprisonment in Ḫammu-rabi's Code is unknown, as in Near-Eastern antiquity in general, they knew only imprisonment on remand or as coercion

Another matter of interest in Assyro-Babylonian law is the position of women This is probably most fully indicated in a tablet of which photographic reproductions are given and which may be called "The Women's Lawbook" (Rechtsbuch fur Frauen) This is a nearly complete tablet of fine ivory-coloured clay inscribed in eight columns of finely-written lines of writing totalling 828, detailing the laws current in Assyria governing the position of women, especially wives In this document the author points out that two kinds of marriage seems to have existed, one in which the husband and the wife lived together, and the other a relationship in which the woman returned to the house of her father, a state of things due to the failure of the man to provide a home where they could live in common, and the husband had either to live with her or content himself with visits This latter form of marriage naturally gave the wife a more independent position and it may have been a more primitive form of marriage than when the wife lived in her husband's house.

In this way the author treats of every aspect of Assyro-Babylonian law, describing, comparing, and contrasting

In connection with the marriage laws, he says, there is a detailed series of ordinances dealing with women's dress—

garments obligatory or forbidden Therein it was a privilege for decent women and maidens to be veiled ; servant-girls had to appear in the streets with unveiled faces under severe penalties Interesting also is the ordinance which follows, wherein the legal veiling of a concubine (*esirtu*) by her life-partner could make her a legitimate spouse

The photographic reproductions of tablets, which are nine in number, show the obverse of the text known as the Frauenspiegel, finely written in Assyrian characters , the obverse of a tablet of the " Hittite Lawbook ", in the Hittite style of cuneiform , an old Babylonian will dated in the seventh year of Sin-muballit (about 1961 B C ), written in large Babylonian characters , an old Babylonian case-tablet, inner and outer text, the latter with cylinder-impressions— a loan-tablet of the time of Sin-muballit (about 1955 B C ) , an old Babylonian letter , an Assyrian loan-tablet with a seal-impression , and a text of the Seleucid-period referring to the sale of temple-revenues The photographs of all these are so good that the writing can be read except where it is carried on to the right-hand edges of the tablets The seal-impressions do not show up so well

To the list of Assyro-Babylonian legal inscriptions and texts resembling them on pp 19–20 may be added *The Babylonian Tablets of the Berens Collection*, published by this Society in 1915 , and others will be found in the *Journal* for October, 1905, pp 817–22 (transcribed into late Babylonian) , October, 1922, pp 9–18 , and October, 1917, pp 723–34 (original texts) The loan-tablet dated in the reign of Saracos, *JRAS* July, 1921, pp 383–7, may also be mentioned Several of them have seal-impressions

This book by Dr San Nicolò forms a remarkably complete and noteworthy contribution to the works dealing with Assyro-Babylonian law, manners, and customs



T G PINCHES

**Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testamentes übersetzt und erklart** Herausgegeben von Franz Feldmann und Heinr Herkenne IV Band 4 Abteilung Die beiden Makkabaerbucher Übersetzt und erklart von Hugo Bévenot 10 × 7, pp xii + 260, 2 maps Bonn · Peter Hanstein, 1931 Mks. 11 60

No one, except perhaps the most fanatical of Assyriologists or Egyptologists, will deny that the two most significant elements in our present civilization are the Hellenic and the Hebraic The survival of these two elements is little short of a miracle For who would have expected the comparative handful of Greeks to defeat the Persian hosts or the small band of Jews brought together by Judas Maccabæus to resist successfully the mighty forces of the Syro-Greeks ? On these two occasions Providence was certainly not on the side of the big battalions By the irony of history the first of these battles was fought for the preservation of Hellenism from the domination of the Persian form of civilization, the second for the survival of Judaism in the face of an all-powerful Hellenism to which every other civilized state within the orbit either of its cultural or political influence had completely capitulated Yet while one war was fought for Hellenism and the other against it they were both fundamentally right, because both the Greeks and the Jews had challenged the forces of tyranny, and had asserted the right of freedom for the human spirit

While Herodotus paints a vivid picture of his countrymen's fight for liberty the author (or rather, authors) of the two books of the Maccabees describe with equal vividness and with a religious passion wholly absent in the Greek chronicler, the epic of Judas Maccabæus

The present instalment of the Catholic Bible published at Bonn, which contains a translation and notes upon the first two books of the Maccabees, is a fine piece of scholarship which it is a pleasure to praise The author, Père Hugo Bévenot has skilfully digested the fairly large literature on the subject

He is an excellent expositor dealing briefly but authoritatively with the problems and difficulties which confront these two books of the Apocrypha. While he sums up the conclusions of the experts with admirable lucidity, he is quick to detect fallacies and extravagances and does not hesitate to dispose of them neatly and effectively, yet without the slightest acrimony or unfairness Père Bévenot's edition marks a great advance upon any of his predecessors, and cries aloud to be translated Finally, the work is provided with excellent indexes and two maps

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A SANTALI GRAMMAR FOR BEGINNERS By the REV P O BODDING $7 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$, pp $\text{i} + 104$ Benegaria, Santal Parganas, India The Santal Mission of the Northern Churches, 1929

An accurate short Santal grammar has been a desideratum for a long time now Skrefsrud's *Santal Grammar* has long held the field, but is somewhat difficult to begin with for a newcomer dealing with the agglutinative type of language The Church Missionary Society had a small grammar, but this primer by the Rev. P O Bodding must now be regarded as the best help available for beginners It is written by one who has given a lifelong study to the language, while living in the heart of the Santal country He has already published a monumental grammar in two volumes, entitled *Materials for a Santali Grammar*, and this little primer gives the results of the larger book in skeleton form Apart from its value to missionaries living amongst the Santals, the book supplies a long-felt want on the part of managers in the tea-plantations and coal-mines, where many Santals are employed. They are very cheery workers and one of the first ways into their hearts is to speak to them in their own language The word for "a man" and "a Santal" is the same, so that one who speaks their language is every inch a man. When they

leave their native jungle to work under conditions of modern industrialism, they work very willingly under a manager who can speak their own tongue Colliery managers have frequently asked even for a list of phrases in Santali so that work might proceed more smoothly Such a list of phrases, as well as sentences to illustrate the use of certain words, would have added greatly to the value of the book for beginners But this primer will lead them into the enjoyment of a most interesting language and people

Mastery of the Santali letters and pronunciation is first dealt with As giving evidence of the meticulous care of the author, take the letter *r* In his large grammar, the author takes two pages to show how it should be pronounced Here is what he says of it in his primer —

"*r*, a sound that gives many Europeans trouble, is pronounced by drawing the inverted tip of the tongue towards the middle of the hard palate, but without touching the palate The tip of the tongue is then moved rapidly forward towards the front teeth along the palate, which, however, is not touched When passing the upper gum the inverted tongue tip momentarily touches this The end of the movement is that the tongue tip strikes against the lower front teeth, at the same time doing away with the inversion It is a rough kind of sound, and not difficult to one knowing how to produce it ' The ordinary *r* is pronounced more like the Scottish burr All sorts of amusing errors are made if this pronunciation is not accurately acquired The word for a man is *hor*, and the word for a road is *hor* Unless the letter *r* is pronounced properly, a person may mean to say, " I sat down in the middle of the road, ' and find the Santals laughing because he has said, ' I sat down in the middle of the man "

The Santali language has also what Mr Bodding calls checked consonants of which there are four *k'*, *c'*, *t'*, and *p'*. Someone once said that men from Clydeside would make good Santal linguists, because they too checked their

consonants. To which a Norwegian replied that his countrymen did the same Here again Mr. Bodding defines accurately what happens, but the Clydeside expression "Pass the but'er", explains at once what is meant

Practically all words may function as nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs, without any alteration in form Even a pronoun or an interjection may be used as a verb

The use of the pronoun is very interesting There are four words for *we* in Santali, a dual and a plural, each having two forms, an inclusive and an exclusive All depends upon whether the person addressing you is including you or not. For example —

*alang* means "We two, or you and I"

*aling* means "We too, apart from you", "I and someone else"

*abo* means "We, more than two and including you"

*ale* means "We, more than two, but not including you"

As mentioned above, the language is agglutinative, consisting of roots rather than of words One word may have subject, predicate, and object, with genitive and dative additions as well A pronoun may come in between the root and the verbal ending "A Santal verb consequently consists of base word *plus* verbal suffix *plus* object infix (in the Active and if animate) *plus* possessive infix (optional) *plus* the finate *a*, *plus* subject pronoun"

As showing the expressiveness of the language, mention has often been made of the Santali word for *came*, which can be expressed in two ways One means that a person came and is still here, the other that though he came he has gone away again In speaking of the death of an ordinary person, the Santal says "goc'enae", but in the Santali version of the Apostle's Creed, the expression used is "Jisu goc'lenae" the tense showing that though He died, He is no longer dead but rose again

In a small book of little over a hundred pages it is regrettable that there are over twenty mistakes in spelling.

Throughout, too, the author uses the archaic "in stead of" for "instead of". There are awkwardnesses in style also, which are almost inevitable For the author hails from Scandinavia, and writes in English about the Santal language. But this book will be a boon for beginners, written by the greatest living authority on the Santal language. A great Indian scholar has stated that Mr Bodding's large grammar, the first volume of which is devoted to phonetics, is the first attempt on a large scale to apply the science of phonetics in a really scientific way to the writing of a grammar

*13* W. HAMILTON.

A SANTAL DICTIONARY Vol I, Part 1 By P O BODDING Der Norske Videnskaps-Akademi, Oslo $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$, pp ii + 154 Oslo Kommisjon Hos Jacob Dybwad, 1929

A very hearty welcome will be given to this Santal dictionary, planned on such a large scale, and based on such a scientific use of phonetics This first volume contains 154 pages, and deals solely with the letter *a* As the Santals only number a little over two million people, some idea will be gathered of the thorough and painstaking care that is being taken to make this dictionary definitive The format of the book is good, the type is beautifully clear, and the spacing all that could be desired One can only marvel at the minuteness which Mr Bodding brings to bear on every word, and the delicate shades of meaning he is able to disentangle In addition to the meaning of each word, examples of each meaning given are embodied in sentences taken from the every-day talk of the people All sorts of interesting facts about the Santals and their customs emerge on page after page Many words have a specialized meaning which leads the author to give us the origin or rite or custom or institution with which the word is associated, and this makes the dictionary more than a dictionary It is a mine of Santal folk-lore as well as a history of their antiquities, so that this is

a dictionary that can be read as well as consulted Hitherto, Dr. Andrew Campbell's Santali dictionary has held the field, and references to it are included throughout These references are marked C, Mr Bodding quoting them when the word dealt with has not been heard among the Santals with whom he came into contact That is very possible among a people like the Santals who are forced from time to time to migrate, and while clinging tenaciously to their own remarkable language, can scarcely avoid appropriating words from the languages of the people among whom they sojourn, till they regard them almost as their own The Santals themselves are not aware sometimes that they have borrowed at all. The Rev W E White, the coadjutor with Dr Campbell in his dictionary, tells of a Santal who on looking at a telegraph pole in the tea-plantations, asked him what the English word for that was, adding that the Santali word was "telegraf". It is perhaps ungracious of Mr Bodding to say of the words where C is used, that "in many cases such words are in a form written by persons who have had little proper training".

For a work that is to become the standard dictionary of the Santal language, this first volume contains an extraordinary number of misprints and mis-spellings There are mistakes, too, in style and in expression, phrases in English being used that no one speaking the English tongue would ever use "To fondle himself upon you," "epidemy," "entrapped him to be unconcerned," "always daily," "ejaculate" for "eject," "dabbingly," "untractable," and so on throughout. There are mistakes on almost every third page In future volumes it would be desirable to have the proofs read over by someone whose mother tongue is English Otherwise this really monumental work will be marred by flaws which are out of keeping with its accuracy in other respects

This dictionary will be the final authority on the language when completed. But for every day use, Dr. Campbell's one-volume dictionary with its felicitous and succinct examples coupled with the ease with which the student can turn up

Santali-English or English-Santali at will, is still indispensable, and the forthcoming new edition is eagerly awaited. We trust that Mr Bodding will be able to give us the whole of this dictionary which embodies the labours of a lifetime. He has already put all lovers of the Santals deeply in his debt, and this dictionary will be the fitting coping stone to his erudition, industry, and research

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I ICONOGRAPHIE DES ÉTOFFES PEINTES (PAṬA) DANS LE MAÑJUŚRĪMŪLAKALPA Par MARCELLE LALOU Buddhica Documents et Travaux pour l'Étude du Bouddhisme Première Série, Tome VI $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp 117, pls 7 Paris Paul Geuthner, 1931 Frs 75

The *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* is a work of much interest for its information on iconographical, magical and lexicographical matters, but is hardly accessible to the ordinary student, because the Sanskrit text is known only in a single faulty MS It is, however, something to be thankful for that the late MM Ganapati Sastri should have published the MS as it stands without silently introducing amendments of his own Mlle Lalou has extracted the passages dealing with magical pictures painted on cloth, which seem to be specially connected with the worship of Mañjuśrī, and gives us a translation of them with the Tibetan version She has made an excellent job of a troublesome piece of work , the inevitable slips are very few and trivial, but I would question her rendering occasionally Thus she should not attribute improper behaviour to Maitreya (p 32), "son regard n'est pas fixé when the Sanskrit and Tibetan indicate the meaning as "with his gaze fixed on Him (i e the Tathāgata)". So also by a dubious interpretation of *śāsane* (p 39) she makes Yamāntaka preach , anyhow the Tibetan gives the better reading *sādhane*, which should be construed with *duṣṭa*° to mean "he is able to keep down those who are inimical to the rite". In an interesting final chapter she discusses

Mañjuśrī's epithet of *pañcacīraka* and demonstrates curious associations with the Gandharva Pañcaśikha of the Pali canon and with Sanatkumāra, Kārttikeya and Kāma Her remarks throw some light on the early Bodhisattva statues which Professor Vogel dealt with in *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, and I would add the suggestion that *kumārabhūta*, applied here to Mañjuśrī but in other works to other Bodhisattvas, may have perhaps meant originally " being in the eighth of the ten Mahāyāna *bhūmis* ", which was known as the *kumārabhūmi* (*Daśabhūmikasūtra*, p. 71).

It is much to be wished that Mlle Lalou would use her studies of this text to give us an index of rare words occurring in it with their Tibetan equivalents. Thus I note the Tibetan's interesting explanation of *vrkodara* (p 37) by *gsus-pa* (*gsum-pa* wrongly in text) *hphyan-ba* " having a pendulous stomach ", " pot-bellied ". Again, it takes *paṭṭacalananivasta* and *paṭṭacalanikā°* to mean " vêtu de vêtements flottants " (pp 33 and 34, cf p 14), but have we not here the rare word *calanī*, *°aka*, *°ika*, *°ikā*, a kind of short silk garment or petticoat (according to *Mem of the A S.B*, iv, p 199, the Tibetan equivalent is *dar-thun*) ? Many such words would probably reward the inquirer

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2 THE SONG OF THE LORD, BHAGAVADGĪTĀ Translated, with introduction and notes, by EDWARD J THOMAS, M A, D Litt Wisdom of the East Series 7 × 4, pp 123 London John Murray, 1931

3 NAÑJARĀJAYAŚOBHŪṢAṆA OF ABHINAVA KĀLIDĀSA. Critically edited, with introduction and index, by EMBAR KRISHNAMACHARYA Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No xlvii 10 × 7, pp xlvii + 270. Baroda Oriental Institute, 1930.

Of the many translations of the *Bhagavadgītā* into English none could be more safely recommended to the ordinary public than this one by Dr. Thomas The wording is agreeable

and as clear as the original allows a close translation to be, while in matters of scholarship it is up to date The introduction and occasional notes are judicious, and give all the information that could reasonably be demanded by the general reader

The other book named above is an eighteenth-century imitation of the *Pratāparudrayaśobhūsana*, and is of no interest except for its date and for the subject of its panegyric, who played a considerable rôle in the early history of the H E I C in Madras The claim to critical editing on the title-page is not borne out by the text, but the list of contents and indexes will be found adequate, should it be desired to look up any point in it

*408, 437* E H JOHNSTON

INNI DEL RIG-VEDA RELIGIONI DELL INDIA, VEDISMO E BRAHMANESIMO TESTI E DOCUMENTI PER LA STORIA DELLA RELIGIONI 2 Vol II, Rig-Veda II–X Di Valentino Papesso 7½ × 5, pp IX + 180 Bologna. Nicola Zanichelli, 1931

The first part of Signor Papesso's work was reviewed in the *Journal* for April, 1930, p 461, by a different hand The second and final volume contains translations of some ninety hymns from books II to X of the Rigveda The selection, which in general is good and does not always follow the beaten track, is governed by the needs of students of the history of religions and this perhaps justifies the inclusion of hymns such as 4, 27, whose interpretation still remains so doubtful as to make their omission from a popular anthology desirable The meaning of this particular hymn depends to a large extent on the view taken of the first verse, and, without accepting necessarily Sieg's exegesis, still I do not see how the ordinary translation, here followed, which involves taking *javásā* as if it were *jávasā*, can possibly be right In general, however, Signor Papesso, who properly eschews original renderings,

shows good judgement in deciding between the views of conflicting authorities in the major difficulties, and his translation has the great merit of combining literalness with intelligibility But in minor details there are many more mistakes than there should be, after making full allowance for ordinary human frailty. To cite a few instances, this plea excuses slips such as *vişuta* "legato", 5, 83, 7, and "aperte", 5, 83, 8, the omission of 6, 58, led or misprints such as "O nato fonte" (for "forte"), 2, 28, 8, and "tredici" (for 53), p 131, n 7 But *apásah* "opera", 2, 28, 5, and *mahāvadhāt* "della grande arma (di lui)", 5, 83, 2, suggest a certain carelessness about accent, and his judgement seems at fault in *purvasānām* "delle antiche madri", 2, 35, 5, in declining to read the now generally accepted *kāre* for the Pp 's *kārah* in 10, 53, 11, or in seeing narrative perfects in 10, 34, 11 Though such defects make the book unsuitable for elementary use, they do not seriously affect as a rule the general meaning of the translation or impair its value as a guide to the religion of the Rigveda

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PAÑCAVIMŚA-BRĀHMANA THE BRĀHMAṆA OF TWENTY-FIVE CHAPTERS Translated by Dr W CALAND Bibliotheca Indica Work No 255 10 × 6¼, pp. xxxvi + 661, 1 illustration Calcutta Baptist Mission Press, 1931.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal has tardily but most successfully atoned for the unsatisfactory edition of the *Pañcavimśa Brāhmana* issued in 1870–4, by publishing a translation of that forbidding text from the pen of Professor Caland, whose retirement has abated in no degree his devotion to his favourite study. When all allowances are made, it is certain that the edition fell far below what could have been accomplished at the time when it appeared, and its defects have hampered every worker on the Brāhmaṇa literature. The abstruse character of the ritual which is presupposed

by the Brāhmaṇa has been another source of difficulty, and it is invaluable to have the contents of the text made effectively available. Much, of course, must remain obscure, but such difficulties affect only minute details, and the student of religion may feel confident that the translation gives him all that he can ever want A careful examination has revealed, indeed, a number of points on which it is possible to differ from Professor Caland, and with these I shall deal elsewhere, but such divergences of view are inevitable in the case of texts so difficult as the Brāhmaṇa

In an introduction, brief but rich in matter, the author touches on some vital questions of relative chronology of the *Sāmaveda* texts It is satisfactory to find that he has definitely accepted the arguments of Oldenberg in favour of the priority of the Pūrvārcika of that Veda to the Uttarārcika, and this point can be held to be definitely disposed of Professor Caland is inclined to hold (p xv) that the Uttarārcika did not exist in the time of the author of the Brāhmaṇa, but that the chanters drew the verses they wanted directly from the *Ṛksamhitā*, the Uttarārcika being composed in later times so that there might be available in the order of the sacrifices the verses required to be sung This theory is supported by certain facts, especially by the use in three places of *sambhārya* (xi, 1, 5, xvi, 5, 11, xviii, 8, 8) denoting verses which have to be gathered together, now in the Uttarārcika the verses are already collected, so that the reference must be to the *Ṛgveda* as the source whence the verses are taken Other passages are less decisive, but the Sūtras seem to recognize that in certain cases verses are to be drawn direct from the *Ṛgveda*. This evidence, however, does not carry us as far as is suggested It shows that the *Ṛgveda* was well known to the Brāhmaṇa, and that direct use could be made of it But it does not exclude the use of the Uttarārcika, and there seems perfectly conclusive evidence that the Brāhmaṇa knew it In several passages, e g xii, 1, 9 10, we find used the terms pentastichs or tristichs without further specification The Uttarārcika

gives us at once the verses, and we must, therefore, assume that something like it was known to the author of the Brāhmaṇa. Dr. Caland can only suggest that the author of the Brāhmaṇa allowed a free choice, and that in later times the compiler of the Uttarārcika fixed the verses, probably in accordance with the indications of the *Jaiminīya Brāhmana*, where the practice is to indicate what verses are to be used by giving their opening words This, it must be confessed, is a most improbable hypothesis, and wholly contrary to the practice of the Brāhmaṇas. Moreover in xiii, 1, 1, we find from the opening words cited that the Brāhmaṇa uses verses 37-9 of *Ṛgveda*, ix, 86, in the reverse order, and this is the order we find in *Sāmaveda*, ii, 305-7 Again, in viii, 8, 26 it is perfectly clear that the Brāhmaṇa follows the version of *Sāmaveda*, ii, 62, as against *Rgveda* viii, 98, 9, and there are several other clear cases where the verses used differed in reading from the *Rgveda* To explain these away by assuming that the author of the Brāhmaṇa used a different recension of the *Rgveda* from that we now have is much less plausible than to hold that he had before him a text virtually equivalent to our Uttarārcika There is after all nothing unnatural that the author should have used both the *Ṛgveda* and the Uttarārcika, and this simple supposition saves us from conjectures which evade completely possibility of confirmation.

Dr Caland has investigated the relations of the *Pañcavimśa* and the *Jaiminīya*, with the result that he is inclined to hold that the latter is the older text But the evidence tells in the opposite sense In the *Pañcavimśa*, xx, 3, 2, there is a myth of the securing of control over domestic animals, in which failure is ascribed among others to the All-Gods when using the mārgīyava sāman, and the *Jaiminīya*, ii, 112, ascribes a like myth to Tāṇḍya, who, of course, according to the tradition is the author of the *Pañcaviṁśa* The almost conclusive force of this argument is countered by Dr Caland with the argument that the *Pañcaviṁśa* mentions the All-Gods as the actors, while in the *Jaiminīya* it is Īśāna Deva, and the

*Pañcaviṁśa* itself in xiv, 9, 12, brings Rudra into connection with the mārgīyava sāman Hence he suggests that the *Pañcaviṁśa* took over the passage from the *Jaiminīya*, replacing the god, of whom its author stood in awe, but inconsistently retaining the sāman But it is obviously much easier to suppose that the *Jaiminīya* borrowed, and that it gave the sāman to Īśāna either because of its connection with Rudra in the *Pañcaviṁśa* or for some chance motive It must be noted that Īśāna is properly not mentioned by the *Pañcaviṁśa*, for Rudra would normally be expected to be able to control cattle, and this may be the reason why the All-Gods appear in that text It is, it may be added, too much of a *tour de force* to explain away Tāṇḍya's name, for we really cannot disregard the early tradition associating him with the *Pañcaviṁśa* Nor is it an argument in favour of greater age that the *Jaiminīya* allows the performance of rude rites ignored in the *Pañcaviṁśa* It is clear that tastes in these matters differed, some schools were willing to deck out in Brahmanical guise barbarous practices, others were more exclusive, and date has nothing in all likelihood to do with such questions The linguistic evidence, on the whole, is not in favour of Dr Caland's hypothesis, and it seems impossible to claim priority for the *Jaiminīya* as we know it over the *Pañcaviṁśa* But difference of opinion, one is glad to note, is only possible because of the real knowledge of the two texts which we owe to the tireless energy and deep insight of the distinguished author

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BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SEX RITES AND CUSTOMS By ROGER GOODLAND 11 × 8½, pp 752 London George Routledge and Sons, Ltd, 1931 £3 3s

The scientific study of savage life and of the problems which there, as in higher societies, arise from the facts of sex, is hampered by the feeling that it touches on the nasty and

the indecent. Often there is ample justification for this; for the extravagances and perversions which have been recorded by, or have been attractive to, observers of very different capacity and purpose, obscure and hinder the acquisition of knowledge of an accurate and scientific nature. It is unfortunately common to give undue weight to the abnormal and the bizarre and the irregular which is tolerated only under exceptional conditions, and to forget the great part played in social life by the ordinary routine of human relations Scientific anthropology thus suffers from the original taint of curiosity and morbidity and from the excessive emphasis laid upon the phenomena of special and decadent societies There is ample evidence of the antiquity of religious ritual linked with sex which is not always, not necessarily, irreverent or indecent Thus the connection of a prototype of modern Saivaism with the cults in vogue in the Indus culture is affirmed by Sir John Marshall (see *Mohenjodaro*, I, pp VII and 52 sqq ) and throughout history, as the literature shows, human societies have invested sex with power and with mystery and made its facts one source of religious activity In this study the present work will be very valuable It consists of an alphabetical and annotated list of authors who have contributed to this subject, with a subject index giving cross-references It appears to be very thorough and accurate, and is admirably printed

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BIBLIOGRAPHIE BOUDDHIQUE (Buddhica Documents et Travaux pour l'Étude du Bouddhisme, publiés sous la direction de JEAN PRZYLUSKI. Deuxième Série, Documents—Tome III) I, Janvier, 1928–Mai, 1929; II, Mai, 1929–Mai, 1930 pp 64 and 97 respectively

When Jean Przyluski told me at Oxford, 1928, of the project he had in mind, together with his aspirations for a more intensive, more historical trend in Buddhist studies, I told

him, doubtless in indifferent French, that he had brought me *un rayon de soleil dans un monde trop obscur*. The first fruits of this project are now with us, have in part been with us for nearly two years Nor is the sifting of materials yet brought up to date Had it not been for an act of piety, in which a fifth of Part II was devoted to a "Rétrospective" of the many writings of Léon Feer, the diary of current works on Buddhism might have been brought up to the end of 1930, if no further And, much as I esteem the piety-cum-utility of Rétrospectives, I trust the editor will impiously refrain from publishing any more of them till we can read, in each annual issue, notice of works on Buddhist subjects published up to the end of the year just ended This will much increase the usefulness of the Bibliography

And how great that usefulness is they who are engaged in any work referring to Buddhism, be it at first or at second hand, should not need to be told Yet told they need to be And perhaps in France more than elsewhere There in its centre are such known fountain-heads of knowledge on matters Buddhistic as Messrs Finot and Foucher, Sylvain Lévi and Przyluski, yet within the last few months I have handled three or four French works, new or in revised shape, wherein all the old cliches about original Buddhism are trotted out, with all the decadent sins of Hīnayānism, piled on the shoulders of that most maligned man "le Bouddha", just as if (i) a world-religion had no history, but were a ready-made, reach-me down article, with no frills, gussets, and tucks added to the first garment, and (ii) the study of original Buddhism were not, as it is, a very new line of research, but a well-trodden field like that of the classics of the Ægean Sea tradition So far as I have seen, anything so crude as the statements in those French books, purporting, as they did, to be by disinterested students, would, in Germany and this country, only be put forward by "verts", propagandizing that which, with scanty knowledge, they hold to be the gospel of the Śakyamuni Germany is as yet, in its scholars, holding

largely to the Oldenberg tradition, wherein the "church-made" formula still has too much uninvestigated validity. But Germany would at least be forward, as apparently France as a whole is not, to consult such a work as this Bibliography and watch in its pages the output of new research and criticism They, and Buddhist students everywhere, will know that, in M Przyluski's words, while *l'effectif* of the first seekers has grown, while "Oriental Asia" is getting ready for scientific output, and "specialization is getting accentuated", "the organization of studies remains embryonic" Students may be engaged on the same point yet ignorant of each other, immense fields may be lying *en friche*, for lack of co-ordination energy is being frittered, wasted (*se gaspille*) In this field Renan's ideal of collaborating scholars is hideously absent We all sit like so many lone *śramanas*, and yet, unlike them, our professed aim is to benefit mankind

M Przyluski's reporting staff in different countries—in England it is Mr G L M Clauson—will by now be known to readers of this *Journal*, and the admirable methods adopted in the Bibliography will not be by now, in this belated notice, needing to be here set forth Not least admirable among these is that of giving, beneath the notice, with résumé, of a new book, reference to any worthy criticism on it which has appeared Our gratitude—I know I can use the "our"—is profound, and we rate the editor as, in Sutta discourse, *loke dullabho*, hard to find in the world, in that he is "foremost to work a benefit". Let us not be the complementary *dullabhā* "hard to find are they who acknowledge it"

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BUDDHISTIC STUDIES. By BIMALA CHURN LAW, Ph D., M A, B L $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp x + 897, pls 4 Calcutta and Simla Thacker, Spink and Co, Ltd., 1931.

It is in a minor way regrettable that this over-massive collection should not have been published in three parts in

the course of the eight years (is it ?) taken for its production. To a greater degree is it commendable, that there should be found a man like Dr Law, willing to take upon himself the financial burden of giving, not to his own "fliegende Blatter" only, but to those of many other workers in the same field, a more concordant and more permanent abiding-place than that of a quarterly journal, or other periodical Of his own four contributions to this volume he has let me see three from other publications— I am not sure whether the fourth, "The Buddhist Conception of Māra," has previously appeared This is, like much else from the same pen, the work of the useful secretary, reaching down from bookshelves materials (varying in date of composition over about a thousand years) needed for his projected work by the historian of such a "conception", and greatly is such a writer beholden to him That there is no mention of Windisch's famous monograph is practically to say we have here no critical essay, but the critical essayist will be glad to have it by him

Of other essays which I have not seen before in periodicals one by a Jain, K Prasad Jain, on "Mahavīra and Buddha", is written with a denominational desire that his "Jina" may be shown the better man of the two It is 66 pages in length, and in its own way of no little interest But it reveals not the faintest suspicion in the writer, that what the Jaina scriptures tell him, or what the Buddhist scriptures tell him *may not have really* been said by either Jina, Vardhamāna, or Gotama, respectively Such a comparison as is given is useful, as showing what, when both scriptures took their final shapes, was then the orthodox doctrine of either cult, more than that it cannot show

Another article which may here appear for the first time is one by my esteemed contributor (speaking for the Pali Text Society), Dr M Nagai, on "Buddhist Vinaya Discipline". Here we have another slap, that of the Mahāyānist at the Hinayānist This is at the need felt in the Pali scriptures to give sanction to every rule by prefixing the *Anujānāmi vo*

*bhikkhave* of the Śakyamuni. "Such an idea is born of the narrow spirit of the so-called Hīnayāna school, and will ultimately lead to the death of the spirit of Buddhism." The attitude of the modern cultured Japanese Buddhist towards this ancient mass of "canon law" is of much interest, and no one would welcome more than the reviewer a critical history of the Buddhist Vinaya from Dr. Nagai, when once his edition of the Vinaya Commentary is completed.

Other articles I have not before seen are two from a member of the "so-called" Hīnayānist Sangha, the Bhikṣu Narada, whose excellent English almost suggests an English -vert under this name These are on "Buddhist Philosophy of Birth and Death" and "Nibbāna" Here again, in the whole outlook, whether Indian philosophy (identified with "Ṛṣis"!) or "Christianity", or early or scholastic Buddhism be handled, the fact that *ideas have a history* might, for all the writer has to say, be non-existent The first two cultures are swept aside, this is an easy task, when the whole history of them is boiled down to a phrase expressing something which the writer's own cult has, in the course of tremendous changes, come to see as of no value That he finds heredity and environment insufficient to account for the individuality of the individual—the Suttas call it, he might have cited, the *purisassa indriyav mattatā*—is rightly said A man's individuality is the growth of him in and from his past, a very long past, but it is the growth of him as "man", as *purisa*, *purusa*, not of the many bodily and mental complexes, which have merely been his instruments "Not body, not mind," runs the early record of the Śakyamuni's word, "*is the* '*man*'," as India called the self, the spirit But his tradition has come (if I may judge his article is true to it) to see, in the gandharva, referred to in a Sutta as essential to conception, a *mere idea* "exciting impulse," and not the *person* who is always meant by that word, the unseen person coming to quicken the embryo before birth, the "man" or individual. If he would abandon the study of late Abhidhamma mediaeval futilities about death, the work of men

who had turned from the things their Founder's world held in worth, and study the history of those earlier values, the true Indian heritage in Buddhism, he might find things opening up to him in a way undreamt of He would find too, that there is a history in Nirvana values, which now he sees not.

One more article, refreshingly short, not apparently a reprint, is in a way the most suggestive of all "Wanted a Philosophy of Life ? Buddhism" by C E Ball Here is appreciation of Mahâyâna Buddhism as teaching the continuance of the "man" (not the mere complex or product), the man as of long spiritual being in becoming He, as the Buddhist Jātaka words it, *Who sees, look you, himself, e'en as he wished, so has he come to be*, is by his "developing will, making his choice, reaching out in that spiritual life" which is that, not of body and mind, but of the man And what he finds we are beginning to want, is not re-enthronement of a Buddha-cult —the last thing, I dare to say, the great Śakyamuni would wish to see —but a new spiritual leader, who could so influence men, even were it for but a day, as to "cause them to think and act like incarnate gods"

Space does not suffer that I do more than mention other articles Dr G Grimm on "Christian Mysticism and Buddha's Doctrine", Dr Bhandarkar's Asokan study and others, or I could say much more When it is a case of external history, as in the contributions on Buddhist history in Ceylon by Drs Geiger and De Silva, there is obviously no choice for the writers to be anything but historical, events are the visible and felt expressions of changing values But when it comes to articles on the values themselves, as manifested mainly in recorded ideas, then it is, that we are shown up in our "Buddhist studies" as sluggish in imagination, then it is that all the picture is looked upon as flat and without perspective And this volume will go down to posterity as containing, together with a great amount of interesting research, instances of such flat picture-making

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BUDDHISM IN INDIA, CEYLON, CHINA, AND JAPAN: A READING GUIDE. By CLARENCE H. HAMILTON, Ph.D. pp. 107. University of Chicago Press, 1931

A handy and useful brochure, giving such outline as is possible of the history of Buddhism in these four countries, with bibliography, which makes no pretence to be exhaustive, by one who was Professor of Philosophy in the University of Nanking from 1914 to 1927 It follows almost inevitably from his location till four years ago, that the information for the reader on the last two countries should leave less to be desired than that on the first two I say this with diffidence, mindful of the classic remark of a man of Japan after interviewing Gladstone And I will only add a word of regret, that, in the interval of three years following on his release from duties in the Far East, he should, for his bibliography, have failed to bring himself abreast of works which had been coming out up to the present day I note, for instance, one work only as published in 1930, one in 1928, and two in 1927 Nor with the sole exception of the S B E is there light thrown for the reader on the great amount of serial research that has been turning out from the Press year by year, not only since 1927, but for half a century, no word about the *S B Buddhists*, nor the texts and translations of the Pali Text Society, save for two detached references of a decade ago, no word about dictionaries, no reference to the new Paris Buddhist Bibliography, begun a year before this book was issued In the outlined history, too, of Indian Buddhism, certain old *gaffes* are repeated from pioneer works, such as the "pork" dish (*sūkara-maddava*) and the foreign "missions" (! ?) of Asoka A new edition, cleansed of such and brought really up to date, will be a real desideratum.



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LES PHILOSOPHIES INDIENNES, LES SYSTÈMES. Bibliothèque française de Philosophie, nouvelle série. Par RENÉ GROUSSET, avant-propos d'OLIVIER LACOMBE 8 × 5, Tome I, pp xviii + 344, Tome II, pp. 416. Paris Desclée de Brouwer et Cie, 1931 *Frs* 36.

I venture to think that no one person should be called upon to write single-handed a critical review of a work claiming to give a purview of such a subject as this This is because it needs a large portion of a lifetime to master at first hand and weigh historically each section of it I am only fit to speak, more than by way of mere exposition, about one short section Others should be called in to help! But in saying this, I am venturing no less on another judgment about the whole of this and such works, no man is competent to deal similarly, as author, with the whole of any of them And for the same reason Speaking with diffidence, I should say the present author is at home and expert in the last section only. Le Vedânta Here only does he really " handle " his subject-matter as one who knows his way about Next to this comes his treatment of the Upanishads, where is some attempt at historic method True, it is a lean chapter on a great subject and, were I expert therein, I should have a bone here and there to pick with him, but, after all, much has been written on it, and it was a wise choice to dwell at greater length on sections as yet comparatively lacking in scholarly syntheses.

But it is where he gets at the back of "Les Systèmes", to the Vedas, to le Bouddhisme ancien, to early Jainism, to pre system Sânkhya, that he reveals himself as away from home and dependent upon others And here, of course, I fetch up where *I* am more or less at home It is doubtful whether "ancient Buddhism" can be said to be presented with discernment by a few scraps of translation, borrowed from works by Foucher and Oldenberg, with no evidence of original grasp by the author Oldenberg, fine scholar though he was, never, after his initial efforts, found time to give of his best in historical criticism to Buddhism Hence, following him,

M. Grousset sees the whole of Pali Buddhism as a flat frontispiece, and cites a Milindapañho as giving us the "ancient" teaching equally with Suttas which were spoken, as Sayings, 500 years earlier, were formulated with revisions during the next 250 years, and were then strung into Sutta collections two centuries and more before they were written. The result is, that we get doctrines of later changed monastic values given out as the teaching of that most maligned of men, the Śakyamuni Religious teacher to the Many, not maker, *Dieu merci*, of a "system", he, whose first public monition was to echo the Upanishadic call to "seek the Self", and whose second monition to his first helpers was a *caveat* lest they should, in mere body and mind, see the Self *who was valuing these*—he is written down, as before, so here once more, as a champion of the non-existence of the self and as the pedantic compiler of a one-sided view of causation, foisted later upon his real teaching It is, after all, a very new subject in the history of religious values, this "ancient Buddhism", the Pali materials are even now not yet fully to hand And the immature ill-digested pronouncements of a few eminent pioneers required careful checking before being grafted on to a brand new review of Indian philosophies. Cinderella is still among the cinders!

Now should come the turn of a reviewer doing justice, as relief to this grumble, to the latter half of this work, to Madhyamika, Vijñānavāda, Vedânta Yet might he too grouse a little at the absence of an index, and at the want of symmetry in the presentation, different in each volume, of the contents

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Paradise Quest · A Naturalist's Experiences in New Guinea. By Lee S Crandall $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp xvii + 226, 52 illustrations New York and London Scribner and Sons, 1931. 10*s*. 6*d*.

In this interesting record of a search, under great difficulties in regard to food and transport, for birds of paradise in New

Guinea, the Curator of Birds from the New York Zoological Park has put together some valuable information for the general reader Mr Crandall returned to New York the proud possessor of some " forty birds of paradise, alive and happy, with two hundred lesser relatives " In the course of his expedition to remote parts of the island, the writer gleaned some interesting information regarding local customs Here, as elsewhere, the *pouri-pouri* (magic) worker uses his powers through the nail-parings, hair, or other portions of his victim Death may be caused to an enemy by sending a snake to visit him, and the penalty is certain, whether the snake be of a poisonous or entirely harmless variety

The description of the birds of paradise and the methods adopted for catching them will be of interest to the student of natural history , and the book contains sufficient anthropological data to be attractive to a wider public Interesting parallels with primitive practices in India will be noted, in connection with spirit worship, and the special importance of certain trees, such as the *Pandanus odoratissimus*

The illustrations are excellent and numerous, but the writer has unfortunately omitted both an index and a map, which would have added much to the value of the work These omissions might perhaps be made good in the next edition

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AN ACCOUNT OF TIBET THE TRAVELS OF IPPOLITO DESIDERI OF PISTOIA, S J , 1712–1727. With an Introduction by C WESSELS, S J Edited by FILIPPO DE FILIPPI. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp xviii + 475, pls 17, 1 map London. Routledge and Sons, 1932 £1 5*s* 2*d*

The publication of this record left by the Italian Jesuit Father, Desideri, was long overdue Puini and Wessels filled a part of the gap, but now we have a practically full account and an English translation Italian writers, including the editor of this work, blame writers of other nationalities,

especially British, for failing to appreciate—and in some cases for misrepresenting—the Roman Catholic missionaries who visited Tibet during the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth century. But the blame must to some extent rest with themselves for their delay in making the documents, left by these early travellers, known to the outside world. As long as manuscripts are hidden in Rome, Pistoia, or other places, and even when such excerpts as are published are available only in a limited edition in Italian, speculation remains active, and she is a dangerous busybody

Desideri's record of Tibet is fuller than that left by any of his fellow missionaries Well-educated, industrious, and resourceful, he amassed a large store of information during the six years that he spent in the country To his own life and adventures his references are, on the whole, brief In August, 1715, with Father Freyre he left Leh and travelled via the Tsang-po Valley route to Lhasa A Mongol chief's widow was taking his troops from western Tibet to Lhasa, and permitted them to travel in her train, showing them much kindness They arrived at the capital in March, 1716

Freyre left, almost immediately, for India, but Desideri remained He received kind treatment from La-tsang Khan —styled Cinghes-Khang in the record—who commanded the Oelot forces in Tibet and ruled the country Studying hard, he wrote a book in Tibetan controverting the Tibetan religion, and preaching Christianity This venture he presented to his patron in public audience on the 6th January, 1717. The latter, after examining the book, proposed that, in accordance with Tibetan custom, a public disputation should, later on, be held between Desideri and the Tibetan lamas He further arranged for the Jesuit to study in the monasteries of Ra-mo-che and Se-ra, that he might learn the other side of the case. But during the following December a revolution broke out, La-tsang Khan was killed, and Desideri fled to Tak-po, eight days' journey south-east of Lhasa Except for a few months at a later period, he did not return to the capital until April,

1721, when he left Tibet for good, as the authorities in Rome decided that the Tibet mission field should be worked by the Capuchins

The main part of the report is devoted to a general description of the country and people, and especially to the religion Present-day statements of Sikkimese and other Tibetans receive confirmation in its pages The former always claim that their jurisdiction used to extend as far as Titaliya in the plains of India Desideri, in effect, confirms this, writing of it as "bordering on the south-west with Nagrakata, Haldibari, and Purnea" Sikkim is described as a feudatory paying tribute at each New Year to Lhasa Then, as now, the Abors, etc, prevented Tibetans from passing through their territories And it is of interest to note that Kuti (Nya-nam), the Tibetan outpost that lies comparatively close to the Gurkha capital, had been, shortly before Desideri's time, "subject to the Raja of Kattmandū", but was subsequently brought under Lhasa

In discussing Tibetan qualities our author notes that "their memory is good, and they are clever, kindly, and courteous by nature, good craftsmen, active, and extremely industrious" A good characterization as far as it goes, far nearer the truth than the depreciation of many later travellers

But the chief concern of this intelligent priest was with the religion that he had come to conquer Temples and chapels, *cho-tens* and prayer-wheels, and many features of monastic life come under his observant eye and his somewhat prolix pen He describes many of the Hells, the hot, the cold, and the other varieties On the Tibetan system of religious contemplation he has something to say, but much more on the doctrine of transmigration, regulated by the good and evil deeds of previous lives, the basis on which the Tibetan religion is built Finding here a clear denial of the existence of a Supreme Being, he combats it with all the strength at his command So vast and complex is the structure of what many Westerners call Lamaism—a term disliked by the

Tibetans themselves—that he cannot fight it all. But among other doctrines he does contest that of the Void (*tong-pa-nyi*).

Naturally enough there are cracks in the knowledge of two hundred years ago. He cannot say what is the place in India that Tibetans name Dor-je-ten He opines that "it appears to be the town of Patna, or some other place not far from Benares". Even Professor Puini and the editor of this work can do no more than guess at three places One supposed it by now to be general knowledge that Dor-je-ten is Bodh Gaya

To the Abors Desideri refers as *Lho-pa*, i e the Southerners. Nowadays this name is applied to the Bhutanese, while the Abors and cognate tribes are known as *Lo-pa*, the colloquial form of *gLen-pa*, which means "stupid and ignorant"

But the most surprising gap of all appears when, as we read, we realize that Desideri, while aware that the Tibetan religion came from India, did not know that it was derived from Buddhism Sa-kya Tup-pa, one of the Tibetan names for Buddha, is referred to as the "Legislator", but neither Buddha nor Buddhism are mentioned anywhere in his pages.

The route map and the illustrations are good , there is a bibliographical index and a special bibliography for the Desideri manuscripts, a general index, and another for Tibetan words A long and careful collection of notes explains and bring up to date many of the subjects raised in the record of this early pioneer

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TRAILS TO INMOST ASIA Five years of Exploration with the Roerich Central Asian Expedition By GEORGE N. ROERICH. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xx + 504, 151 illustrations and 1 map Newhaven Yale University Press, London : Oxford University Press, 1931 34*s*.

The chief object of the Roerich Central Asian Expedition was to make a pictorial record of the lands and peoples of inner Asia, and to this end some 500 paintings by the leader of the expedition, Professor Nicholas Roerich, were brought

back As illustrations to the present volume, several of these have been reproduced A second object was to survey the possibilities of further archæological exploration , and a third was to collect ethnological and linguistic material, work for which Mr George Roerich's wide linguistic attainments well qualified him The expedition reached Darjeeling in December, 1923 The whole of 1924 was spent in Sikkim in preparation and in mastering the spoken language In 1925 the members proceeded to Kashmīr, and in August of that year started on the long and arduous, and often perilous, journey that occupied nearly three years, ending with their entry into Sikkim in May, 1928, and of which the present volume contains a brief but interesting record

The route followed was a circuitous one From Gulmarg the party travelled by the Zoji pass to Dras and Leh, and thence northward over the Karakorum pass and down the Karakash valley to Khotan, where they were to experience the first obstruction raised by the Chinese authorities, involving more than two months' delay They moved on via Kashgar and Aksu to Karashahr, thence intending to diverge northwards through the T'ien-shan to Urumchi, but they were held up at Khoton-sumbul and had to return to Karashahr and go round by Toksun After spending a few weeks at Urumchi, where they had to deal with the despotic governor of Sin-kiang, Yang Tseng-hsin, they crossed Dzungaria on *telengas* to Zaisan, and sailed down the Irtish to Omsk, whence they railed through southern Siberia to Verkhne-Udinsk, and then motored south to the capital of Mongolia, known to Europeans as Urga, but to the Mongolians as Ikhe-kuren or Ikhe-kura, the "Great Monastery" Here six or seven months were spent in organization for the more hazardous parts of the journey, across the Gobi and the highlands of Tibet The halt was also utilized for collecting a mass of information, summarized in chapter vii Here we have a valuable historical and descriptive account of this remarkable city, its buildings and

institutions, including the museum, the great treasure of which is a complete set of the Tànjur printed in Mongolian, its religious and cultural life, embracing interesting comments on the spread of the *kalacakra* doctrine. We are introduced even to the packs of ravenous and ferocious dogs that infest the city, and not only devour the dead, but sometimes attack the living. From Urga to Yum-beise-kuren on the northern fringe of the Gobi, the expedition struggled through on Dodge cars, the extrication of which from sands, gravel, and rocky ravines seems to have occupied the best part of twelve days. Motors had to be discarded for camels. Crossing the desert and lesser intervening ranges, where brigand bands kept them continually on the alert, they visited the deserted castle of Ja Lama on a ridge of the Baga Ma-tzu-shan, and the occasion is taken (chapter xi) to relate many details of the life of this extraordinary militant monk, who so long inspired terror throughout the land.

In May, 1927, they reached An-hsi, whence they proceeded through the Nan-shan mountains, via Shih-pao-ch'eng, on to the Tsaidam and across the high uplands of Tibet, known as *chang-thang*, to Chu-na-khe near Nag-chu. In this vicinity they were detained in the most unjustifiable manner, through the six winter months of 1927–8, under conditions of extreme hardship, losing nearly all their baggage animals from want of food and the severe cold—the thermometer sinking at one time to $-50°$ Centigrade, and at least two of the party becoming gravely ill. The calm fortitude with which they endured this treatment merits high praise, and we may well marvel that Mrs Roerich should have been able to bear such trial. The enforced stay in these parts has enabled the author to give an important description of the Hor-pas, including an account of the primitive Bon religion, and of the sacred books, of which he made a complete collection comprising some 300 volumes. Interesting items of information have also been furnished about the Torgots, Khoshuts, Goloks, and other tribes. Among the collections made on these uplands were

objects in brass and other metals, the animalistic style which is shown to be related to that of ancient Scythia and Siberian antiquities, thus attesting, in the author's view the survival in northern and north-eastern Tibet of the ol central Asian nomad art The subject is one of some scientifi interest, in that it opens up a vista of an ancient, pre-Buddhist nomad culture that may have extended from Korea in th east to the Carpathians in the west At Nag-chu the witnessed the burning of the *torma* two days before the Tibeta New Year's day, a ceremony which bears some strikin analogies to the *holi* festival of northern India

At last, in March, 1928, they were permitted to continu their journey, not by the route they had intended, but by very roundabout way, leading westward through the regio of the great lakes as far as Ting-ri-lam-tsho, then south an south-eastward to Saga-dzong and Kampa-dzong and ove the Sepo-la into the Lachen valley of Sikkim The enforce ment of this route, however, led to one of the most strikin discoveries of the expedition, namely, the megalithic monu ments of Do-ring some thirty miles south of the Pang-gon tsho-cha lake, consisting of alignments of eighteen row running east and west, of erect stone slabs, with a cromlec of menhirs arranged more or less in a circle at the wester end of each The menhirs are vertical, with a crude ston table or altar in front of them At the eastern extremity o the alignment is the figure of an arrow laid out in stone slab with the point towards the alignment The arrow is a important symbol in the ancient nature (sun or lightning cult of Tibet, so that these monuments, the object of whic is quite unknown to the modern inhabitants, were perha dedicated to the cult of the sun. It is an interesting an suggestive fact that most of these megaliths were found alon the great pilgrim route leading towards Mānasarovar an Mount Kailāśa

The illustrations have been well produced, and the inde is useful, but the want of a map on a larger scale, shown

the position of every place mentioned in the book, will be felt by many readers; and strange spelling of names may be noticed.

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ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, 1926–27. Edited by Sir J MARSHALL. $13\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$, pp xiii + 250, pls 48 Calcutta · Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1930 £2 0s. 6d.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1927–28. Edited by H. HARGREAVES. $13\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$, pp xiii + 206, pls 57 Same publishers, 1931. £1 6s. 6d.

The outstanding feature of the Director-General's Report for 1926–27 is his survey of the Indus culture at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa It is preliminary to what we may expect to learn this year from his monumental work on the subject, but most valuable in giving a summary of the general conclusions and in enumerating and emphasizing the many points on which archæologists and ethnologists are asking questions It is no longer Indo-Sumerian but Indus culture Its relation to Mesopotamia is that of commercial intercourse. This leaves its origin still a complete problem, but it has been found to extend far beyond India proper, and cannot be considered peculiarly Indian There is already much evidence to be digested, the animals, pottery, writing, art, disposal of the dead, skeletal remains, and much more. Besides this there are detailed accounts of the excavations by several scholars

Further excavations at Taxila are also described by the Director, whose place for the time (on account of his special work on the Indus culture) has been taken by Mr. H. Hargreaves. The temple at Paharpur in Eastern Bengal shows Buddhist work being superseded by Brahmanical, and in both volumes we learn of the laying bare of the monasteries of Nālandā. V. A. Smith's identifications of Buddhist sites

seem to be vanishing Saheth is still Śrāvastī, and at Kasia the Nirvāna stūpa and the Matha Kuar chapel have been restored by two Burmese gentlemen At Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in the Guntur District we seem to find the Buddhists of Ceylon combining with the followers of Nāgārjuna

Important excavations at Pagan are recorded by M Duroiselle, and the puzzling Pyū language is discussed. In some cases we should like more evidence Two tablets are said to have Gotama Buddha with "no doubt" Maitreya on his right hand and Avalokiteśvara on his left. But is the statement that the latter's appearance "as an attendant of the Buddha in company with Maitreya or alone is not unknown" the only reason for this identification ? The Bodhisattva Maitreya "in monastic garb with little or no distinction from Gotama" is said to be fairly common in Burma Is this what the present Buddhists say ? They are scarcely good authorities for the "Northern" Buddhism of Pagan And does this really settle the identification of the present tablets ?

*250, 514*

E J THOMAS

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THE THIRTEEN PRINCIPAL UPANISHADS Translated from the Sanskrit, with an outline of the philosophy of the Upanishads and an annotated bibliography, by R E HUME Second edition, revised, with a list of recurrent and parallel passages by G C O HAAS 9 × 6, pp xvi + 588 London Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1931 15s

Dr Hume's translation is well known for its excellence, and as standing almost alone in its soundness and faithful adherence to the text In this edition the translation has undergone revision The striking statement in the *Aitareya Upanishad* that "in the beginning" there was "no other blinking thing whatever" has disappeared, and now we find

"winking". Even so, this close adherence to the Sanskrit idiom does not seem adequate in English

Some of the rather dogmatic utterances of the first edition in the *Outline* are repeated, and would be all the better for some evidence. We are told that of a person after death "only his *karma*, or effect of work, remains over". This is not only given as Upanishadic teaching, but it is said to be "out and out the Buddhist doctrine" It is true that Rhys Davids once said that "the only link that they (the Buddhists) acknowledge between the two beings (in the one existence and in the next) who belong to the same series of Karma is the Karma itself" Has Dr. Hume any better evidence for his statement than this? He also finds Buddhist influence in linguistic features, as if the Upanishadic authors could not have got them without reference to Buddhist texts It is also curious that all the influence is assumed to be exercised by the Buddhists, and yet he gives the usual date assigned to the Upanishads as just prior to the rise of Buddhism

The chief addition to this edition is Dr Haas's valuable collection of recurrent and parallel passages, which include the *Bhagavadgītā*

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THE BILINGUAL FORMOSAN MANUSCRIPTS By Dr N. MURAKAMI, Professor at the Imperial University of Taihoku, Formosa $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$, pp 49 1930.

Dr Murakami has done a useful piece of work in compiling this little collection of bilingual manuscripts obtained from native tribes in the island of Formosa. Their subject-matter, unfortunately, is of no particular interest The documents are merely deeds relating to the transfer of property They throw no light on the systems of land-tenure that may have existed among the aboriginal tribes, for it is obvious that the people who used these documentary forms had already

abandoned their old customs at least to the extent of accepting Chinese land-law The deeds are practically identical in form and phraseology with those which are still in common use throughout China. Nevertheless the bilingual documents of which Dr Murakami has given us a selection are decidedly interesting from a linguistic and ethnological point of view. The two languages in which they are written are Chinese and a language spoken up to a comparatively recent date by a tribe that did not altogether shun contact with the more civilized colonists or invaders, whether Chinese or European

The Dutch came into friendly touch with these people during their occupation of the island from 1624 to 1661, and opened schools in which native youths were taught to write their own language phonetically in Roman script Apparently they had no written language of their own, and Chinese was still to them either an unknown tongue or was much too difficult for them to acquire It was about the year 1636 that the Dutch opened a school at Sinkan and began to teach the Western alphabet to seventy youths Some of these or later pupils proceeded so far with their studies as to learn the Dutch language, and it appears that half a century after the Dutch had been turned out of Formosa by the famous pirate (or patriot) Chêng Ch'êng-kung (鄭成功), usually known as Koxinga, there were Formosan natives who could still speak the Dutch language and read Dutch books (The authority for this is the Jesuit father De Mailla, who visited Formosa in 1714) The latest of the extant bilingual documents is dated 1813 By far the greater number, however, belong to the Ch'ien-Lung reign (1736–95) After that time, Chinese influence seems to have finally crushed what remained of Dutch culture

As Dr Murakami is careful to point out, it has long been known to Western students that during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the Roman alphabet was used by some of the Formosan natives for the purpose of writing their

own language phonetically, and he mentions by name the various British and other scholars who observed and reported this fact. During a short visit to Formosa about the year 1909 I was myself shown, by the Japanese Governor-General of the island, a small collection of documents so written.

Dr. Murakami quotes a passage from the Chinese *Topography of Formosa*, published in 1747, which shows that the Chinese had already observed, with considerable interest, that the natives used the script of the "red-haired barbarians". It describes how they wrote from left to right, not in vertical lines as the Chinese did, and it refers to their use of goose-quill pens Extracts from one of the local Topographies are also to be found in the *T'u-shu-chi-ch'êng*, where similar information is given, together with a good deal more relating to the customs of the island barbarians (土 番). We are there told, for example, that these barbarians had no surnames, no knowledge of the calendar or of their own ages, recognized no relatives except parents, did not observe the cult of ancestors, and thought more of their daughters than of their sons This last characteristic was due to the fact that on marriage a son left the paternal home for good, and went to live in the house of his wife's family Daughters, on the other hand, were a permanent asset Needless to say, it is precisely the other way round in China, where boys are valued more than girls because it is only through boys that the family maintains its existence as such Evidently in Formosa there were, and presumably still are, traces of matriarchy Such facts as these suffice to show that the "aboriginal" tribes of Formosa had nothing in common with the Chinese The weight of evidence seems to point to the probability that they came from the Philippines or some of the neighbouring parts of the South Seas, and probably their languages belonged to Malayan or Indonesian groups The language of the bilingual documents, like the other languages now spoken by the untamed natives of the hills of Formosa, seems to have been polysyllabic and toneless.

Had it possessed tones, the Dutch alphabet would have been of very little use to the natives

When the island passed under the rule of the Manchu emperors efforts were made, at first with only moderate success, to civilize the natives—that is to say, to convert them to an acceptance of Chinese culture , and schools were established with this end in view There is a brief reference to this process in the *T'u-shu-chi-ch'êng* 今向化者設塾師令番子弟從學漸沐於詩書禮樂之教云 It was during the period of Chinese ascendancy, from the reign of K'ang-Hsi onwards, that legal documents such as those collected in this little book began to be written in two languages, Chinese and tribal, the tribal being always written in the Western alphabet Probably in most cases no one but the scribe himself (who was often, doubtless, a professional Chinese writer) could read the Chinese version

The Formosan hill-tribes still, of course, possess languages of their own, but there seems to be no doubt that the language in which the bilingual documents is written is extinct It disappeared because the tribes which spoke it gradually came to adopt the Chinese language as well as Chinese customs, and to abandon their own In Dr Murakami's words "During long years of the Chinese rule the natives who stayed among them became civilized and adopted the language of their rulers, while those who took to the hills were merged in the savage tribes Thus their language came to be entirely forgotten "

Dr Murakami closes by expressing the hope, which the Royal Asiatic Society will share, that "a thorough study of all the known Formosan manuscripts, with the bilingual documents as a key, will enable us to understand this forgotten language "



R F J

CREATIVE ENERGY. Being an introduction to the study of the *Yih King*, or Book of Changes, with translations from the original text, by I. MEARS and L E MEARS. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xxiv + 239, 7 illustrations. London: John Murray, 1931. 6s

There may be a public that will find pleasure in, and perhaps even derive some spiritual or other consolation from, a perusal of this book; and the frequent references to and parallels with Biblical literature may possibly be of some interest, if not of great value, to missionaries in the Far East It is not, however, a book which is likely to find many readers among the members of the Royal Asiatic Society or among serious students of Chinese classical literature

The authors seem to believe (see Foreword, p xiii) that they "have been permitted to assist toward the discovery of some of its secrets" (i e the secrets of the *Yih King* or *I Ching*) and "partially to reveal them" in the pages of their book; but it is to be feared that Western students who seek illumination from Messrs Mears on the subject of that venerable classic will be sadly disappointed.

The books to which the authors express special indebtedness for help in the translation and interpretation of the *I Ching* constitute a curious list They are Williams's Chinese-English Dictionary, Wieger's *Dictionary of Ancient and Modern Chinese Written Characters*, Gaskell's *Dictionary of Sacred Language*, and the Bible! It seems almost incredible, but it is nevertheless the fact, that their pages contain no mention of, far less expressions of indebtedness to, any of their English and other European predecessors in the study of the *I Ching* As there is no mention of James Legge (whose translation and elaborate discussion and interpretation of the classic are contained in *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol xvi), it is hardly necessary to say that nothing whatever is said of the Latin translation of Père Regis and his collaborators a hundred years ago, or of the French translations of Philastre (1885 and later) and De Harlez (1895) McClatchie, whose

interpretation of the classic was severely handled by Legge, produced his translation, such as it was, as long ago as 1876; and Dr Edkins (in this *Journal*, Vol XVI, Part iii) and H J Allen (in his *Early Chinese History*, chapter viii) are only two of many English writers whom the authors of this book, whether through ignorance or through design, totally ignore German students—such as Richard Wilhelm, to name one only—also seem to have had no existence for Messrs. Mears

The voluminous works of Chinese commentators are briefly referred to, but their views are not discussed in such a way as to suggest that Messrs Mears have studied them at first hand Nothing whatever is said of the labours of Ou-yang Hsiu (歐陽修) of the Sung dynasty, whose book is described by a living Chinese scholar (Dr Hu Shih) as "perhaps the best and most courageous work of higher criticism on the *Book of Change* that historical scholarship has ever produced ".

In view of Messrs Mears' apparent failure to acquaint themselves with the work done by Chinese and European translators and commentators, it is not surprising to find that they also ignore the labours of Japanese scholars They have nothing to say of the treatise by 宇野哲人 of which a translation from Japanese into Chinese was published by 陳彬龢 in 1925 Even the very accessible and useful little work published in English by the well-known Japanese scholar, D T Suzuki (*A Brief History of Early Chinese Philosophy*), which has some interesting paragraphs on the *I Ching*, finds no mention

Perhaps Messrs Mears would say that they refrained from mentioning any of their predecessors because they found nothing of any value in their translations or commentaries, and that in their opinion the painstaking work of such men as Legge was thrown away Even if it is their sincere belief that they alone of all European, Japanese, and Chinese students of the *I Ching* have found the clue to its true interpretation, they should at least have devoted some space to a reasoned examination of their predecessors' work, and

to a statement of their reasons for dissenting from many learned European and other students of Chinese classical literature and some of the profoundest scholars that China herself has ever produced

Phrases like "the sages of old" (p 128) are lacking in scholarly precision, and when the said sages are quoted as teaching that "Creative Energy and the substances which it energises are unceasingly generated by the unfathomable Spirit of God" specific references to the books or passages in which these and similar teachings are preserved would be advantageous

No uniform system of the transliteration of Chinese names seems to have been adopted, and this is one of many features of the book which suggest doubts as to whether Messrs Mears have made their translations direct from the Chinese text or through the medium of other translations. As to their claim that their translations are literal, I think that if a new edition of their book is called for they would render a service to the cause of sound scholarship if they would give, as marginal notes to all the passages they have translated, exact references to the translations of the same passages by Legge, or—if they prefer it—precise indications as to where the passages can be found in the Chinese text

I have referred above to Dr Hu Shih. In his book, the English version of which is called *The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China*, he emphasizes the importance of the *I Ching* as containing "most of the basic doctrines of the Confucian logic". He also declares his adherence to the well-known theory (not, apparently, considered worthy of mention by Messrs Mears) that the famous diagrams of the *I Ching* "were originally the word-signs of a now-extinct language which was used in ancient China before the invention of the ideographic language"

Nor do Messrs Mears discuss or refer to the discovery of Leibniz (who acquired his knowledge of the *I Ching* through a French missionary, Père Bouvet) that the Eight Diagrams

were the numbers 7 to 0, and the Sixty-four Diagrams the numbers 63 to 0, written in a binary notation Mr. Arthur Waley, who had a valuable note on the subject in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* (vol ii, pt 1, 1921, p. 165), remarks that "although this fact about the diagrams was known in the seventeenth century, no subsequent commentator, either Chinese or European, appears to have mentioned it" It must be assumed that Messrs Mears were unacquainted with the discovery or did not think it worth discussing

Confucius in a well-known story said that if an extension of life were granted to him he would devote himself to a prolonged study of the *I Ching* and "might then escape falling into great error" It seems regrettable that Messrs Mears did not take the hint and devote a longer time than they did to the study of this difficult Chinese classic before undertaking the work of translation and interpretation M Mohl, who published Père Regis's translation, told Dr Legge that he liked the *I Ching* because he came to it "out of a sea of mist" and found "solid ground It may be doubted whether the authors of this book had succeeded in emerging from the "sea of mist' when they decided to put pen to paper.

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THE DOCUMENTS OF IRIKI ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FEUDAL INSTITUTIONS OF JAPAN. Translated and edited by K ASAKAWA (Yale Historical Publications) 10 × 7, pp xvi + 441 + 140 London · Oxford University Press, 1929 £1 15s

This is the most valuable and representative collection of primary sources so far made available in English for the study of Japanese feudalism It is the work of Dr K Asakawa, who is an Assistant Professor of History in Yale University, and combines a thorough scholarship in the history of his own country with a wide knowledge of the European feudal age. With keen discrimination he has selected from the vast mass of records available in Japanese for the study of Japanese

feudalism, a series eminently suited to the needs of the European reader whose interest in the subject is mainly for purposes of comparison. The collection is at once minute in detail and comprehensive in its range, for the documents all deal with a small and very secluded district in the south-west of the island of Kyūshū, but this district was held by a single baronial line almost throughout the feudal epoch, and the documents, which date from 1135 to 1870, form a body of sources justly claimed by the editor to be "coeval with the whole of the feudal history of the nation". And, as Dr Asakawa further claims, "the evolution of local institutions revealed by this material is fairly typical of the development of feudal Japan as a whole"

There is a well-written introduction, and also a "summary of points", a syllabus in note form with references by number to particular documents, suitable for a seminar class, but rather too terse and bald for a published work, especially as it is in this "summary of points" and not in the introduction, that Dr. Asakawa develops those themes of general characterization and comparison with the West which are likely to be of most interest to the non-specialist reader. The summary of points reveals, in spite of its questionnaire style, deep thought on all the chief problems of feudalism, whether Japanese or not, and Dr Asakawa excuses himself from fuller exposition of his own views by asserting that his intention is above all to present students with a source-book from which they can draw their own conclusions Nevertheless, we may be permitted a certain disappointment at not hearing more of the conclusions of Dr Asakawa

The earliest of the documents together with the editor's commentary show us the great Shimadzu *shō* or tax-free private domain in southern Kyūshū, belonging to the Konoe family of the court nobility, and its *shiki* or "offices"—land agency, tenancy, local constabulary, and the like. It was on the possession of such *shiki* by the military families outside the ring of the privileged court nobility that Japanese feudalism was originally based. By 1197, as Dr. Asakasa

points out, "in all parts of the country, not excepting Shimadzu, a large part of the *shiki* relating to arable land had been either vested in or seized by private warriors, who had everywhere come to assume a dominant place in the local society, and, what was more, these warriors had allied themselves by ties of vassalage with the followers of the great military family, first of the Taira, latterly of the Minamoto"

Thus power gradually passed from the court nobility filling the posts of the imperial civil administration, copied from China, into the hands of the provincial military families which grouped themselves according to feudal ties In 1247 a certain Shibuya Jō-shin was made *jito* (land steward) of the section of the Shimadzu *sho* in the Iriki district, and founded the house which continued there for over six centuries, in vassalage from the end of the fourteenth century to the Shimadzu family, the lords of Satsuma

Out of the 253 documents comprised in this collection, eighty-eight date from the Kamakura epoch, and these are specially interesting as showing how much the feudalism of that period differed from the elaborate structure of Tokugawa times, more familiar to Europeans from its persistence into the nineteenth century In the Kamakura period subinfeudation and promogeniture are not yet in evidence, the barons are nearly all direct vassals (*go-ke-nin*) of the shōgun, and divide their fiefs at will among their children, each son becoming likewise a direct vassal, women might hold fiefs, performing their military duties by proxy, and in the administration of justice the principle of judgment by peers emerges But these features of Kamakura feudalism disappeared for the most part in the prolonged civil wars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it was then that the later type with its ranking and superimpositions of fiefs became normal, to be elaborated into a system of national administration by Iyeyasu, after the re-establishment of central control

G F. HUDSON.

JOURNAL OF THE PANJAB UNIVERSITY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
Vol I, Part I April, 1932.

We are glad to welcome the first number of this *Journal.* The Panjab University Historical Society incorporates the old Panjab Historical Society, founded in 1910, and the editorial preface to the new *Journal* gives a sketch of its twenty-one years' career, its decline, and its final merger last winter in the younger Society The temporary weakening of the "lay" interest in history is probably due in the main to the absorbing appeal of politics at the present time The first issue of the new *Journal* contains several articles of interest. Principal Garrett, to whom the school of history in the Punjab owes so much, has a graphic account of the trial of Bahadur Shah, the last of the Delhi Kings, in 1858. Mr Sethi gives a most interesting narrative of Imam-ud-din's revolt in Kashmir in 1846, and Professor Sita Ram Kohli, the most distinguished of the younger Punjab historians, whose work on the Sikh records in Lahore is well-known, contributes an excellent article, the first of two, on "The Multan Outbreak and the trial of Diwan Mul Raj" Each of these articles is based on original documents Among the other contributions is one by Dr Hutchison, whose articles on the history of the States of the Punjab Hills were one of the notable features of the *Journal* of the Panjab Historical Society. In this article he discusses the position of the Sangala of Alexander's historians, and gives strong reasons for identifying it with Sialkot (Sākala) The quality of the articles promises well for the future

J P THOMPSON

# OBITUARY NOTICES

## The Reverend Canon Edward Sell, D.D.

By the death of the Reverend Canon Edward Sell at Bangalore on 15th February, 1932, our Society lost one of its most distinguished older members, one whose literary output was phenomenal, whose scholarship unquestioned, and whose knowledge of Islam unique

He was born in 1839, educated at the Church Missionary College, Islington, became a Fellow of the Madras University in 1874, received the degree of B D in 1881, and D D from the Edinburgh University in 1902

He arrived in India in 1867 and completed sixty-three years of service abroad In addition to his work in education as Principal of the Harris High School (1865-81) he was secretary for the C M S in the dioceses of Madras and Travancore for thirty-nine years, Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Madras in 1889 and made a Canon of St George's Cathedral He possessed marked business ability and was one of the leading spirits in the development of the so-called "S P C K" Press in Madras His literary output was extraordinary both in its range and character At the time of his death he was still at work on his fiftieth book Twenty-three volumes consisted of commentaries on the Old Testament and Bible handbooks to the Wisdom literature He was most widely known, however, through his works on Islam, especially *The Faith of Islam* and *The Historical Development of the Quran*, both of which passed through three editions All of his books are marked by painstaking and accurate scholarship His knowledge of Islam was first-hand and his passion for writing indefatigable One of the outstanding characteristics in every one of his writings is fairness of judgment and sympathy In the preface to his book, *The Faith of Islam*, he wrote "Much that is written

on Islam is either with ignorant prejudice or from an ideal standpoint. To understand it aright we should know its literature and live amongst its people. I rest my case entirely upon Musalman authorities."

The meritorious character of his public services, especially in connection with the University at Madras, was acknowledged by the bestowal of the Kaisar-i-Hind gold medal, first class, in 1906 The *Madras Diocesan Magazine* pays this tribute to the Missionary scholar so greatly beloved by all his colleagues and by the wide circle of Christian workers in all Moslem lands. "His life is a monument of the true Christian principle of service He was not one of those who look first at themselves and then try to find the job which they can do He saw the work and the need first, and by arduous diligence he fitted himself for it and contributed to it every power he possessed He never worked for a selfish aim He might be rigid in his pursuit of the purpose he had set before himself, but there was never a personal object in it. Whatever he had to do, he did it with his might and he used every talent in the service of his Master, and we may humbly voice on earth the Divine approval given to him who uses all his talents for God · 'Well done, good and faithful servant!'"

S M Zwemer

Princeton, New Jersey

## Dr. Willem Caland

Our Society has lost by the death of Dr. Willem Caland one of its distinguished honorary members, and Indology one of its ablest representatives.

Willem Caland was born at Brielle on the 27th August, 1859, as the son of Pictor Caland, a hydraulic engineer of great merit, whose great achievement it was to provide Rotterdam with a waterway to the sea. At an early age he was unfortunate enough to have a violent attack of synovial

rheumatism resulting in a heart complaint which troubled him for the rest of his life, and finally became the cause of his death By careful living and wonderful self-restraint, he succeeded in overcoming this evil as much as possible.

He studied classical philology at the University of Leiden, and it was a thesis belonging to the domain of Roman numismatics that brought him his doctor's degree in 1883. But the teaching of Kern had aroused his interest in the culture and literature of ancient India, and it was Kern's influence which was decisive in his scholarly career For many years Caland was "Conrector" of the "gymnasium" at Breda, and only his leisure hours could be devoted to his favourite studies In the year 1903 he was appointed to represent Indology at the University of Utrecht, first as lecturer, since 1906 as Professor The subject of his inaugural address was The study of Sanskrit in relation to Ethnology and Classical Philology Besides Sanskrit he taught Avestan, Old-Persian, and Indo-Germanic comparative philology The students who attended his lectures are unanimous in their praise of Professor Caland's didactic ability and of the great personal interest he used to take in the progress of each of them

His exacting educational duties did not prevent him from producing an uninterrupted series of publications, some of considerable extent, embodying the results of his indefatigable researches It was in particular one branch of Vedic lore to which he devoted his remarkable energies, the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras in this branch he attained an unparalleled mastery Most of his writings relate to the religious customs, sacraments, sacrifices, etc , practised in ancient India and described in the ritualistic literature

Among Caland's numerous books and articles dealing with this subject, the following may be mentioned. *Altindischer Ahnencult* (1893), *Die altindischen Todten- und Bestattungsgebräuche* (1896), *Altindisches Zaubermaterial* (1900), *L'agniṣṭoma. Description complète de la forme*

*normale du Sacrifice de Soma dans le culte védique* (1906–7), in co-operation with Victor Henry, and *Altindische Zauberei. Darstellung der altindischen "Wunschopfer"* (1908), besides a number of ritual texts he has made accessible by editions and translations (*Jaiminiya-brāhmaṇa*, *Kāthaka-gṛhyasūtra*, *Baudhāyanaśrautasūtra*, *Vaikhānasa-smārtasūtra*, etc )

Occasionally he explored other fields of Sanskrit literature, e.g when editing an unknown Indian play, called *Gopālakelicandrikā* (1917) Of late years he paid much attention to the accounts of European writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries regarding Indian customs and cults. He fully recognized the importance of those writings for our knowledge of Hinduism ; of several of them he produced excellent annotated editions (Abr. Rogerius, *Open deure tot het verborgen Heydendom*, W Geleynssen de Jongh's *Remonstrantie*, Ziegenbalg's *Malabarisches Heidentum*)

Considering Professor Caland's delicate health, the amount of work he accomplished in these fields of research is truly amazing. When in 1929 he had reached the age of 70 years, i e the age limit prescribed for University Professors in the Netherlands, he was at last in a position to devote all his time to his favourite studies But unfortunately his health very soon began to fail him When the Eighteenth Congress of Orientalists was to be held at Leiden in September last year, Professor Caland, the veteran among Dutch Indologists, was naturally designated to be President of the Indian section It was a bitter disappointment when ill-health prevented him from joining a gathering to which he had been looking forward with especial pleasure Although confined to his room, he went on working with unabated zeal. It was some ten days before his death that a number of manuscripts of Sūtra texts were at his request sent him from Leiden. He passed away at Utrecht on the 23rd March last

J Ph Vogel.

## NOTES OF THE QUARTER

### *ANNIVERSARY MEETING*

*12th May*, 1932

Sir Edward Maclagan, K C S I , K C I E , M A , in the Chair

The proceedings began with the reading and confirmation of the Minutes of the last Anniversary General Meeting, and the election of the following candidates proposed for membership —

| | |
|---|---|
| Mr David N Barbour | Mr T M Lowji |
| Mr Narayan Dutt | Syed Masud Hasan |

Three nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting

### REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1931–2

We greatly regret to have to mention that the Society has lost by death two of its eminent Honorary Members, Dr. William Caland and Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, C I E , M A , and a distinguished member of Council, Sir Arthur E Cowley, Kt , M A., D Litt , Hon. Litt.D , F B A , Bodley's Librarian Sir Arthur's lifelong devotion to the cause of learning and his thirty-five years' zealous service in the Bodleian are to be fitly commemorated in the foundation of a Lectureship in Rabbinic Hebrew at Oxford The undermentioned members have also died during the year —

| | |
|---|---|
| Mr. A Z Alsagoff | Rt Rev Mark N Trollope Bishop in Corea |
| Mr. Rakhaldas Banerji | Rev A B Sayce |
| Nawab Sir Faridūn-Jang, Bahadur, K C I E , C S I | The Rev Canon E Sell |
| Rev W T Pilter | |

The following members have resigned :—

Mr V. S. N Aiyer
Mr C A V. Bowra
Mr Bakshi Ram Bhandari
Rev J P. Bruce
Lord Chelmsford
Mr D L Chetty
Mr G A S Collins
Professor V M Daudpota
Mr R A Eden
Mr C I Fraser
Paymaster Admiral H Gyles
Mr A H Gardiner
Mr W F Gunawardhana
Mr R L Hobson
Mr K A Narayana Iyer
Miss G E Kemp
Mr K G Krishnan
Kazi Wali Mohamed
Miss F G Newton
Mr W M van Norden.
Mr E L Norton
Mr J D Prince.
Mr G W Place
Mr Jwala Prasad
Lieut -Colonel Osburn
Mr N M. Rehman
Mr G H Thorne
Mr F W Read
Mr T R C Singh.
Mr Hugh Thornton

To fill the vacancies in the roll of Honorary Members caused by the death of Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri and Professor W. Caland, the Council selected the eminent student and patron of Iranian studies, Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, of Bombay, and

The following have taken up their election —

*As Resident Members*

Miss Glynne Bateson
Miss A D Macfie
Mr H G Quaritch Wales

*As Non-resident Members*

Mr Agha Md. Ajmal
Dott Alberto Albertini
Mr A. H Berman.
Mr N K Bhattasali
Mr. Iman Singha Chemjong
Mr. Ramkishan Das
Mr Sukumar Das
Professor Sukumar Ranjan Das
Mr S C Datta
Mr T N Dave
Professor P Demiéville
Kumar Bidyadhar Singh Deo
Professor W L Dyer
Lieut -Colonel P G Elgood
Dr Giuseppe Furlani
Professor Shang-Ling Fu.
Dr M B Ghouse
Professor Hassan Ibrahim Hassan.
Maulvi Matiur Rahman Khan
Dr A R Khastgir.

| | |
|---|---|
| Mr. Kumar Krishna Kumar | Miss Lola Ridge |
| Mr. M. H Kurieshy | Dr R C Saxena |
| Rai N. M Lahiri | Capt Nazeer Ali Shah |
| Mr David Lawson | Mr C S Shrivastava |
| Mr H Loewe | Thakur Sobhan Singh Ji |
| Dr. A N Mondal | Mr M Abdus Subhan |
| Mr R M S Morrison | Mr H Swenson |
| Mr C A Naidu | Mr D Tiwary |
| Mr M D Ratnasuriya | Mr K Viswanathan |
| Sayyid Manzoor Ahsan Razvi | Mr G A Yates |

*As a Resident Compounder*

Mr H Comyn Maitland

*As Non-resident Compounders*

| | |
|---|---|
| Mr R D Dalal | Mr Y. R Parpia |
| Mr J P Jain | Mr Parashu Ram |

*As Student Members*

| | |
|---|---|
| Dr Grant Champion | Mr W B D Doxford |
| Mr J K Das-Gupta | The Hon H A Wyndham |

Under Rule 25a, persons have ceased to be members of the Society owing to non-payment of subscriptions.

*Lectures* —The following lectures have been delivered during the year, they were almost all illustrated by lantern slides —

"Nepal," by Brig-Gen the Hon C G Bruce, C B

"In the Footsteps of Israel in Transjordan the Exodus and Lawrence of Arabia," by Group-Capt L W Rees, V C, etc, R A F

"Burton and the Rub' al Khali," the triennial Burton Memorial Lecture, by Mr Bertram S Thomas, O B E

"Nineveh and the excavations of 1930–1," by Dr. R Campbell Thompson

"The Impressions of an Englishwoman in Lhasa," by Mrs. Weir

"Through Northern and Eastern Persia with a Ciné-Kodak," by Mr. C. P. Skrine.

"Angkor: A Royal Romance," by Miss Lucille Douglass

"The Conquest of Kamet," by Mr. F S Smythe

"Ancient Art in Siberia," by Dr Alfred Salmony

"The Language of the Mohammedan Traditions (Ḥadīth) as an indication of Source and Origin," by Dr A. S Yahuda.

"From Cairo to Mekka and El Medina," by Mr Eldon Rutter

"Recent Excavations at Erech," by Mr Sidney Smith

"Siamese Painting," by Mr B Quaritch Wales

At the suggestion of the Director, the President and Council unanimously passed a resolution that the Ambassador or Minister of every Oriental Power accredited to St James' should be invited to become a Foreign Extraordinary Member of the Society, under the terms of Rule 10 of our Charter. I am happy to announce that acceptances have been received from their Excellencies the Japanese and Turkish Ambassadors, and from the Afghan, Chinese, Egyptian, Iraqian, Persian, Siamese, and Ethiopian Ministers

As indicated in the last Annual Report of Council, a proposal to make an alteration in the Society's Foundation, hitherto known as the Public Schools' Gold Medal and Prize Trust, was referred to the Ministry of Education The proposal has since received the sanction of the Minister and the Foundation will now be administered by the Society under the name of the Universities' Prize Essay Fund The object of the fund is to encourage non-Asiatics in this country to take an interest in the history and civilizations of the East. For this purpose a diploma and a prize of £20 will be awarded annually to the writer of the best essay on an Oriental subject to be selected by the Society Competition is open to the members of Universities in the United Kingdom and the Irish Free State who have not completed five years from matriculation. The subject for the first essay under the scheme will shortly be announced and essays from competitors

## ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

### RECEIPTS

| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|
| **Subscriptions—** | | |
| Resident Members | 299 5 0 | |
| Non-Resident Members | 902 2 0 | |
| Resident Compounders | 40 1 0 | |
| Non-Resident Compounders | 90 0 0 | |
| Students and Miscellaneous | 24 0 9 | |
| | | 1,355 8 9 |
| **Rents Received** | | 588 10 0 |
| **Grants—** | | |
| Government of Hong-Kong | 25 0 0 | |
| " Straits Settlements | 20 0 0 | |
| " Federated Malay States | 40 0 0 | |
| | | 85 0 0 |
| **Sundry Donations** | | 51 9 0 |
| **Journal Account—** | | |
| Subscriptions | 530 17 4 | |
| Additional Copies sold | 184 2 6 | |
| Pamphlets sold | 5 5 4 | |
| | | 720 5 2 |
| **Dividends** | | 91 12 3 |
| **Repayment of Income Tax (for two years)** | | 32 9 5 |
| **Centenary Volume Sales** | | 1 5 10 |
| **Centenary Supplement Sales** | | 18 10 |
| **Commission on Sale of Books** | | 11 3 11 |
| **Interest on Deposit Account** | | 25 10 6 |
| **Sundry Receipts** | | 2 9 1 |
| **Balance in Hand 31st December, 1930—** | | |
| Current Account | 97 6 10 | |
| Deposit Account | 800 0 0 | |
| | | 897 6 10 |
| | | £3,863 9 7 |

### Investments

£350 5 per cent War Loan, 1929-47

£1 426 1s 10d Local Loans 3 per cent Stock

£132 16s 3d 4½ per cent Treasury Bonds, 1932-34

£777 1s 1d 4 per cent Funding Stock 1960-90

## PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1931

### PAYMENTS

| | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| HOUSE ACCOUNT— | | | | | | |
| Rent and Land Tax | 496 | 0 | 6 | | | |
| Rates, less contributed by Tenants | 32 | 16 | 9 | | | |
| Gas and Light, do. | 75 | 18 | 11 | | | |
| Coal and Coke, do. | 36 | 1 | 0 | | | |
| Telephone | 14 | 1 | 7 | | | |
| Cleaning | 24 | 2 | 6 | | | |
| Insurance | 35 | 6 | 6 | | | |
| Repairs and renewals | 124 | 9 | 1 | | | |
| | | | | 838 | 16 | 10 |
| LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND | | | | 20 | 10 | 6 |
| SALARIES AND WAGES | | | | 802 | 4 | 4 |
| PRINTING AND STATIONERY | | | | 65 | 14 | 2 |
| JOURNAL ACCOUNT— | | | | | | |
| Printing | 1,002 | 0 | 6 | | | |
| Postage | 70 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | | | | 1,072 | 0 | 6 |
| LIBRARY EXPENDITURE | | | | 280 | 3 | 7 |
| GENERAL POSTAGE | | | | 65 | 19 | 4 |
| AUDIT FEE (including Taxation work £2 2s 0d.) | | | | 7 | 7 | 0 |
| SUNDRY EXPENSES— | | | | | | |
| Teas | 18 | 6 | 10 | | | |
| Lectures (less contributions) | 27 | 14 | 1 | | | |
| National Health and Unemployment Insurance | 14 | 9 | 7 | | | |
| Other General Expenditure | 42 | 5 | 6 | | | |
| | | | | 102 | 16 | 0 |
| BALANCE OF CASH IN HAND AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1931 . 13 15 10 | | | | | | |
| *Less* Overdrawn on Current Account 5 18 6 | | | | | | |
| | 7 | 17 | 4 | | | |
| Balance on Deposit Account | 600 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | | | | 607 | 17 | 4 |
| | | | | £3,863 | 9 | 7 |

NOTE £250 of this £607 17*s* 4*d* represents the unexpended balance of the Grant received from the Carnegie Trust

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described, and hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned { L C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.
E A. GAIT, Auditor for the Society.

*9th March*, 1932.

# SPECIAL FUNDS

## Oriental Translation Fund

| 1931 | Receipts | £ s d | £ s d | 1931. | Payments | £ s d | £ s d |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan 1 | Balance | | 329 13 5 | | Binding Vol XIV . | 3 2 6 | |
| | Sales | | 60 16 1 | | Printing " XXXI . | 209 3 7 | |
| | Interest on Deposit Account | | 5 2 10 | | Storage of Stock . | 7 10 3 | |
| | | | | | Sundries . | 5 0 | |
| | | | | | | | 220 1 4 |
| | | | | Dec 31 | Balance Carried to Summary | | 175 11 0 |
| | | | £395 12 4 | | | | £395 12 4 |

## Asiatic Monograph Fund

| | Receipts | £ s d | | Payments | £ s d |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan 1 | Balance | 89 4 6 | Dec 31 | Balance Carried to Summary . | 114 0 3 |
| | Sales . . | 24 15 9 | | | |
| | | £114 0 3 | | | £114 0 3 |

## *SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES*

| | £ s d | £ s d | | £ s d | £ s d |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Oriental Translation Fund | 175 11 0 | | Cash at Bank— | | |
| Asiatic Monograph Fund | 114 0 3 | | On Current Account . | 39 11 3 | |
| | | 289 11 3 | " Deposit Account . | 250 0 0 | |
| | | | | | 289 11 3 |
| | | £289 11 3 | | | £289 11 3 |

### Leasehold Redemption Fund

| 1931 | | £ s d | £ s d | 1931 | | £ s d | £ s d |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan. 1. | Balance . | | 235 11 8 | Dec. 31 | Balance— | | |
| | Transfer from General Account . | | 20 10 6 | | Represented by £249 0s 11d 5 per cent War Loan, 1929/47 . . . | 256 2 2 | |
| | Dividends Received to be Invested . . | | 12 9 0 | | Cash at Bank . . . | 12 9 0 | |
| | | | | | | | 268 11 2 |
| | | | £268 11 2 | | | | £268 11 2 |

## TRUST FUNDS

### Prize Publications Fund

| | | £ s d | £ s d | | | £ s d |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan. 1. | Balance | | 98 0 4 | | Binding Vol X . | 1 19 7 |
| | Sales . . | 15 4 11 | | Dec 31 | Balance Carried to Summary . . . . | 129 5 8 |
| | Dividends . . | 18 0 0 | | | | |
| | | | 33 4 11 | | | |
| | | | £131 5 3 | | | £131 5 3 |

### Gold Medal Fund

| | | £ s d | | | £ s d |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan. 1. | Balance . . . | 65 16 5 | Dec 31 | Balance Carried to Summary | 75 11 5 |
| | Dividends . . . . | 9 15 0 | | | |
| | | £75 11 5 | | | £75 11 5 |

## Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund

| 1931. | | £ | s. | d. | 1931 | | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan. 1. | Balance | 96 | 1 | 2 | Dec. 31. | Balance carried to Summary | 116 | 16 | 6 |
| | Dividends | 20 | 15 | 4 | | | | | |
| | | £116 | 16 | 6 | | | £116 | 16 | 6 |

## SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES

| | £ | s. | d. | | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Prize Publication Fund | 129 | 5 | 8 | Cash at Bank— | | | |
| Gold Medal Fund | 75 | 11 | 5 | On Current Account | 321 | 13 | 7 |
| Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund | 116 | 16 | 6 | | | | |
| | £321 | 13 | 7 | | £321 | 13 | 7 |

### Trust Funds

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Prize Publication Fund)

£325 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "A" Stock (Gold Medal Fund).

£645 11*s* 2*d* Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund)

£40 3½ per cent Conversion Stock (Public Schools Gold Medal Fund)

I have examined the above Statement with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct I have also had produced to me certificates for the Stock Investments and Bank Balances.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned { L C HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council. / E A GAIT, Auditor for the Society

*9th March*, 1932

## BURTON MEMORIAL FUND

| Receipts | | £ s. d. | Payments | | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1931. | | | 1931 | | | |
| Jan 1 | Balance | 4 16 4 | | Cost of Medal . | | 2 7 6 |
| | Dividends | 1 9 4 | Dec 31 | Cash at Bank on Current Account . . . | | 4 7 6 |
| | Repayment of Income Tax | 9 4 | | | | |
| | | £6 15 0 | | | | £6 15 0 |

Investment
£49 0s 10d 3% Local Loans

## JAMES G B. FORLONG FUND

| | Receipts | £ s. d. | | Payments | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan 1. | Balance . . . . . | 289 17 3 | | School of Oriental Studies | | |
| | Dividends . . | 191 8 10 | | Publications | 150 0 0 | |
| | Sale of Books . | 74 3 1 | | Lectures | 122 10 0 | |
| | Repayment of Income Tax (2 years) . | 82 9 5 | | Bursaries | 113 0 0 | |
| | | | | | | 385 10 0 |
| | | | | 10% Commission on 1930 Sales | | 11 3 11 |
| | | | | Fees for Recovery of Income Tax (three years to 31st December, 1930) . | | 10 10 0 |
| | | | | Sundries . . | | 1 14 6 |
| | | | Dec 31 | Cash at Bank— On Current Account . . | | 229 0 2 |
| | | £637 18 7 | | | | £637 18 7 |

Investments

£1,005 14s. 7d. New South Wales Stock 4 per cent Inscribed, 1942–62.
£1,015 16s. 3d. South Australian Government 4 per cent Inscribed Stock, 1940–60.
£1,010 Bengal Nagpur Railway 4 per cent Debenture Stock.
£1,143 6s. 3d. India 3 per cent Inscribed Stock.
£700 Conversion Loan 3½ per cent.
£45 East India Railway Company Annuity, Class "B"
£253 18s 4d 5 per cent War Loan, 1929–47.

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society and have verified the Investments therein described, and I certify the said Abstracts to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
Countersigned { L. C HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.
E A. GAIT, Auditor for the Society.

9th March, 1932.

will have to be submitted to the Society not later than the 1st October

The Society's Triennial Gold Medal, which is given in recognition of distinguished services in Oriental Research has been awarded to Sir Marc Aurel Stein, K C I E, and will be duly presented to him on the occurrence of a suitable opportunity He will be the thirteenth recipient of the Medal

As was mentioned in the last Report, the revision of the index cards for the Library Catalogue had very kindly been undertaken by Dr Barnett, Mr A G Ellis, Sir J. Stewart Lockhart, and Dr H N Randle, who had been giving their services for some time in order to save the funds of the Society. They found, however, that the necessary work was too onerous, and made too great demands upon their time and energies, so that it became impracticable to carry out the task in addition to their own employments The Council therefore decided, with their acquiescence, to employ a full-time scholar at a salary to scrutinize the cards and check comparison with the volumes concerned This expenditure was not foreseen at the last annual Anniversary meeting, but has been quite unavoidable owing to the illness of two of our former voluntary workers, and an unexpected increase in the calls upon the time of a third It was felt that the work should not be left to such vicissitudes and therefore the Council authorized the course which has been followed This work is now drawing to a conclusion, and it is hoped that printing may be begun in the near future The labour involved for everyone concerned will bring its reward with the conclusion of a great undertaking in the production of a result so much needed and so long expected.

The accounts of the Society have been audited as usual by a firm of professional auditors, and also examined by the Honorary Auditors of the Society The Hon Auditors are elected annually, one to represent the Council and one to represent the Members of the Society. They report as follows : " We met the professional auditor this afternoon and went

through the accounts with him. They are in the same form as last year, and appear to meet the requirements of the Society. They are very clear and we have no suggestion to make regarding them.—(Sd.) E A. Gait, L C. Hopkins. 9 3 32."

At the end of last session we lost the services of Lord Zetland as President of the Society, in accordance with the terms of Rule 29, which limits the tenure of the office to three years. Sir Edward Maclagan was elected in his stead Under Rule 31, the Council recommend the re-election of the hon. officers—Mr Ellis, Sir J H Stewart Lockhart, and Mr Perowne, as Hon Librarian, Hon Secretary, and Hon Treasurer respectively Under Rule 32 the following members of Council retire and are not eligible for re-election, viz Professor Gibb, Sir Wolseley Haig, and Sir Oliver Wardrop The Council recommend for election in their places Dr Blackman, Mr H W Bailey, and Mr Dodwell, who have accepted nomination

The Council also recommend for re-election Sir Reginald Johnston, who was elected to fill a vacancy under Rule 28

Under Rule 81 the Council recommend the election of Mr. L C Hopkins (for the Council) and Sir E A Gait (for the Members), together with Messrs. Price, Waterhouse & Co , as auditors for the ensuing year.

The last of the possessions of the Society which had been left in packing-cases in the cellar have now been unpacked and sorted and placed in their proper places in the Library. Certain odd volumes which were not of use or interest to the Society have been handed by the Library Committee to other Societies and Libraries by whom they will be valued The cellar in which they were stored is being gradually fitted up to provide further accommodation for the Library of the Society Considerable relief has thus been effected but it is feared that it will be of a temporary character as the question of accommodation is becoming acute and will have to form the subject of earnest thought in the near future

The Chairman If we accept this Report, we are at the same time dealing with the appointments which have been mentioned before Under our rules, which require retirement after three years, we have to part with three of our valued Members of Council—Professor Gibb, Sir Wolseley Haig, and Sir Oliver Wardrop If we adopt the Report, we elect in their places Dr Blackman, Mr W H Bailey, and Mr Dodwell We propose also that Sir Reginald Johnston, who has been holding a temporary vacancy, should be confirmed as a Member of Council We have also at the same time to appoint our honorary officers Mr Perowne as Hon Treasurer, Mr Ellis as Hon Librarian, and Sir J H Stewart Lockhart as Hon Secretary are put forward for approval We have two unofficial auditors, one from the Society and one from the Council, and it is proposed that as last year Mr Hopkins and Sir Edward Gait should fill these posts These gentlemen have intimated their willingness to serve, and we propose their adoption

I will now ask the Hon Treasurer to make the financial statement

Mr Perowne The accounts are a little better than we expected The total receipts are £2,966 2*s* 9*d*, while the payments come to £3,255 12*s* 3*d* The receipts, however, do not include the usual grant of 300 guineas which we get from the India Office, which came in after the accounts were closed, so that, if we include this sum which we are entitled to do as last year's revenue, our total receipts are £3,281 2*s* 9*d*, leaving a balance of £26 10*s* 6*d* on the right side This, however, is against £112 surplus on the 1930 accounts, and £197 on the 1929 accounts, so that it is not so very grand, still in these times we have got to be satisfied with the small mercies, it is at least better than a deficit Turning to some details on the receipt side, you will note that the total subscriptions come to £1,355. That happens to be the exact figure within a shilling or two of the receipts in 1929, and £39 more than 1930

The Compounders are more than double what they were in 1929. This means that having compounded and so become life members, we get no more subscriptions from them during their lifetime, except what small dividends we may receive by the investment of their compounding fees.

The Resident Members are increasing again, I am glad to say, though slowly, but the non-resident members show a considerable fall during the last two years, though this need not create alarm

Under this heading there is a sub-title "Students and Miscellaneous" which at first sight is curious When analysed it means there are four student subscriptions of 10*s* 6*d* each, and "miscellaneous" means subscribers abroad who send foreign drafts which do not quite reach the subscription which they ought to pay, so that really it means a subscription less loss on exchange or something of that kind, and the auditors thought it better to put it under "Miscellaneous". But the subscribers are genuine members and not chance donors

The *Journal* account is the most interesting These subsciptions again show satisfactory figures For 1929 they were £404, for 1930, £509, and now this last year £530, which shows the growing appreciation in which the *Journal* is held

I do not think there is anything more on that side except that I may mention that there is no receipt during the past year on account of the Carnegie grant There is a balance of £800 to come, but this will not be paid until our catalogue is ready for printing

On the payment side I think the items are more or less of a normal character, and there is nothing very special to which I need call your attention beyond the fact that the *Journal* printing is down slightly—about £20—and sundry expenses down about 40 guineas We are now having to retrench as much as possible as times are getting more and more difficult.

You will see that we had £600 on deposit account at the end of the year, but £250 of this represents a portion of the £1,200 already paid on account of the Carnegie grant, and specially reserved towards the catalogue, and a further £200 of it is a sum which the Society itself has specially earmarked out of its funds towards the catalogue

The Society is to be congratulated on the careful and painstaking way in which Mrs Davis has been keeping the books, thus making the accounts simple to prepare To her I give my best thanks for the help she has been at all times and in particular in respect of items of information which I thought would be of interest to communicate to the members.

Sir Oliver Wardrop I have the honour to propose the adoption of the Report in its entirety The Report is before you, and I shall not detain you by examining it in detail I think what will strike everyone is the remarkable list of lectures delivered during the past year For variety and value I think it is quite an extraordinary list I am happy to hear that the *Journal* is being more and more appreciated by people who are not members of the Society, and I might suggest that new members would possibly find it a good investment to take the *Journal* for a certain number of years I would like to pay a tribute to the excellent work of the staff, and would associate myself in the expression of regret in the heavy losses we have sustained in the past year by the death of members, including Sir Arthur Cowley, to whom the Society and the learned world in general owes so much I have the honour to propose that the Report be adopted by the Society

Professor Rushbrook Williams I have the honour to second the resolution before the meeting that the Report of the Council should be adopted by the Society I think the Council is much to be congratulated on the work done by the Society, and the satisfactory state of the accounts. In the first place, the activities of the Society during this last very difficult twelve months, have been maintained

at more, if I may say so, than their usual pitch of intensity, and in the second place, that the finances of the Society should go down on the right side. I think it is due to us to congratulate the Council on the manner in which the officers have maintained the affairs of the Society during this very difficult period I beg to second the adoption of the motion

Mr W J S Sallaway objected that one too many councillors had been recommended for the ensuing year The meeting expressed its satisfaction, however, that the numbers recommended were in accordance with the rules

Sir Edward Maclagan We have been favoured by our Honorary Treasurer with some remarks on the state of our finances, and this is a very important matter in these days Like every self-respecting financial adviser, he has advised economy, and I may assure the Council we have followed his advice in this matter as far as we possibly could If we look at our accounts, I think we can observe them with equanimity except for two points One is the grant from the India Office to which he has referred. It is a grant of 300 guineas which we have received for the last ten years, and which they have suddenly reduced to 150 guineas We have made our representations to the India Office about that, and we must just await the result As they say in the Greek play, we must merely say "alas! alas!" and hope that the good will come right in the end

The other point to which we must refer in connection with the accounts is the falling off in subscriptions. That was to be expected, and I am sorry to say that during the last four years our subscriptions have fallen off Four years ago they were 744, and now they are 663. We are glad that the numbers are not even less than 663

We have lost, as the Report shows, three very distinguished honorary members this year, all of them eminent scientists, Dr Willem Caland, of Utrecht, Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri of Calcutta, and Professor Julius Jolly of

Würzburg—all three very eminent Sanskritists Sir Arthur Cowley also, to whom Sir O. Wardrop has already referred, was, as you know, Bodley's Librarian at Oxford, and a member of our Council, we feel his loss very severely. He was a most assiduous colleague of ours, and a very valuable adviser in matters of difficulty, as well as an exceedingly courteous and considerate friend We shall miss him very much

I wish to make a further reference to what Sir Oliver Wardrop has already mentioned—the extreme variety of the fare which our energetic Secretary has provided for us in the shape of afternoon lectures Of course, the *Journal* is the central activity of the Society, but the afternoon lectures are a very important part of the work which the Society does, and the object of the Secretary has been to provide us with both light and rich fare, and to provide us with information from as many of the countries in Asia as is practicable We have under his guidance travelled this year in Persia, in Siam, in Nepal, and in Cambodia We have penetrated to the mysterious cities of Lhasa and Mecca Under the guidance of one explorer we have traversed the empty portion of the Arabian Desert, and under another explorer we have climbed to the top of one of the highest mountains in the Himalayas We have at the same time been given news about the excavations at Erech and Ninevah We have learnt about ancient art in Siberia, and we have even studied the philology of the Hadith, the ancient Mohammedan Traditions. And so we have covered a very wide field and received a very varied form of information in these lectures. Two of them were organized in conjunction with the Royal Central Asian Society and were held by the courtesy of the Royal Geographical Society, in the sumptuous lecture hall of the latter Institution

Another matter to which I would like to refer again is the Library As you know, we have been having a catalogue prepared for the Library for some years past, and in the

supervision of that catalogue we have received great assistance from Mr Ellis and Dr Barnett, and also for a time from Dr Randle, and I should like on your behalf to express our obligations to these gentlemen for the great amount of time and trouble they have devoted to us We are now, I hope, beginning to see daylight in the matter of this catalogue, which has taken such a long time, and I hope that by this time next year we shall be able to say that the catalogue is well on its way through the Press

I will now formally ask you to pass the Report of Council for the past year

The Report was then adopted by the meeting

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## Presentation of the Triennial Gold Medal

The Society's Gold Medal for distinguished services in Oriental Research was presented by The Rt Hon Sir Samuel Hoare, Bt, G B E, C M G, etc, Secretary of State for India, on Thursday, 16th June, to Sir Aurel Stein, K C I E, Ph D, etc at 74 Grosvenor Street, W 1

Sir Edward Maclagan Sir Samuel Hoare, ladies and gentlemen, it may be of interest if I explain that this triennial gold medal which the Secretary of State has kindly agreed to present this afternoon was founded by this Society in commemoration of the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria. In awarding it, we are governed by the provisions of a Trust, and according to that Trust at a certain time of the year a Committee has to be appointed and that Committee has to recommend the name of some person who is fitted for the medal on account of his distinguished services in Oriental research It reports to the Council, and there are elaborate provisions as to what is to be done if the Council does not agree with the Committee In the present case, these provisions were found to be entirely unnecessary, because the Committee unanimously put forward the name of Sir Aurel

Stein. The Council which received the Committee's representations unanimously accepted them, and the President, I need hardly say, also "unanimously" approved of them The grant of the medal to Sir Aurel Stein is the very best thing that I could myself personally have wished, for I have myself, if Sir Aurel Stein will allow me to say so, been a personal friend of his for many years I think it is now forty-six or forty-seven years ago since we met in New College, Oxford, in the rooms of Mr D S Margoliouth, who is now a world-renowned Orientalist, and at the present time Director of this Society I have also had opportunities of meeting Sir Aurel Stein at various times afterwards whenever he has condescended to come to live in countries which are accessible to civilized man I am sorry we were unable to give longer notice of this meeting to-day I need not go into the reasons which made it necessary to give such short notice, but the chief of them is the elusive character of Sir Aurel Stein himself When we tried to get into communication with him he was imitating the habits of other Eastern sages who become what is termed "ghaib" or temporarily invisible We were told by some experts we should find him in Baluchistan Others told us we should find him in Persia, others said at this time of the year he would certainly be in his beloved Kashmir, and in the end we unearthed him some three weeks ago at Constantinople In spite of the short notice given, you will see there is a very large number here present of Sir Aurel Stein's friends and admirers and among them there is no one who has a more complete knowledge of the scope of Sir Aurel Stein's researches in Oriental work than our Vice-President, Sir Denison Ross, who is Principal of the School of Oriental Studies, and I will now ask Sir Denison Ross to address us.

Sir Denison Ross Ladies and Gentlemen, it is a very great honour and privilege to the Society to welcome this elusive traveller into our midst I can hardly believe that I see him sitting there However, I have shaken hands with him and I know he is really there It seems incredible, he hides so

well, so successfully, and to such good purpose. It is a still greater honour for me to be allowed to take an active part in the honour which is being done him by the Society. In the past, three distinguished Hungarians have rendered notable service to India The first was Csoma de Koros, the great man who laid the foundations of Tibetan studies, and though he did not cover so much ground as Sir Aurel Stein, he endured immense hardships in his search for knowledge I do not wish to speak of him here His name is held in reverence in this Society, and more especially in the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The second, who is not so well known, was Duka, a distinguished member of the Indian Medical Service And the third great Hungarian is Sir Aurel Stein, whose name is familiar to you all, while many of you are fully acquainted with his adventures and his great discoveries. I think it is always interesting to trace how explorers and orientalists are made, so I will carry you back into the less adventurous days, if there ever were such, in Sir Aurel Stein's life, and tell you how he began Sir Aurel Stein was born in Budapest—a very honourable place to be born in, and one which has produced many great men He studied Oriental languages in Vienna and Tubingen, and he devoted himself specially to Sanskrit In 1888 he went to India as Principal of the Oriental College at Lahore and incidentally that post carried with it the position of Registrar to the Punjab University You will all no doubt regret to think that even five minutes of his precious life was spent as registrar of a university, but his heart was elsewhere, although his pen and hand were devoted to his job He held this post for eleven years, but do not imagine him as sitting in a chair all the time I suspect that whenever vacation came along he would sneak away and hide himself in Kashmir or on the Afghan Frontier, and at the same time he was preparing his memorable translation of Kalhana's "Rajatarangini", which is a model of scholarship and a very important contribution to Indian history In this work Sir Aurel Stein

showed himself a first-class Sanskrit scholar which, of course, he has ever since remained He was in 1899 transferred to Calcutta, and perhaps my only justification for speaking here is that I was his successor in that post which he, fortunately for himself, held only for a short time. When he was appointed Principal of the Calcutta Madrasah he became a member of the Indian Educational Department His predecessors were all scholars of the armchair type There were some very famous ones such as Sprenger, the biographer of the Arabian Prophet, and Blochmann, the founder of Indian Historical Studies of the Muslim period With Stein it was quite otherwise, for although he yields to none as a profound Sanskrit scholar, adventure and discovery were his constant ambition, and it was sheer waste of his special gifts—not to mention his almost superhuman physique—to tie him down to administer a College You must realize you are looking at a superman, for he had the strength to face such pain, misery, and want as would have killed half a dozen other men Stein never failed to do well any task he set himself to do, because one big fact about him is that he is not merely a traveller and adventurer, but he is the most meticulous worker and he cannot put his hand to anything without finishing it off to perfection He has written many voluminous works and I think few people have produced books with fewer misprints than Sir Aurel Stein, and that is not a foregone conclusion in the case of all great hill-climbers It is not for me to tell you of the journeys he made, or to discuss how he made them, or under what conditions The first journey into Chinese Turkestan was in 1900, and it was on that occasion that he discovered the marvellous walled-up library of Tun Huang which perhaps has yielded more for the scholar and student of archæology than any other find ever made in Asia of the post-Christian period. Most of those treasures are now in the British Museum. They represent over 500 wonderful pictures of a period hitherto unrepresented in Chinese painting The documents date from the fifth to

the twelfth or thirteenth century, and hitherto there were no documents preserved of such an early period. That is only one instance of what Sir Aurel Stein has done, for countless are the treasures he has brought back with him. He has always preserved the instincts of a scholar side by side with those of the great surveyor, geographer, and mountain-climber. The result is that it has always been his desire to discover new finds, to unearth buried treasures, ruined cities, to excavate old sites, and nothing was more wonderful than the way in which he traced the whole of the Great Wall from end to end and discovered the records kept by the earliest garrisons in those wonderful frontier towers and outposts Moreover, he always had in view other objects, and I may name as one of these that of settling the problems connected with the journeys of Hsuen Tsang and Marco Polo, and it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the work of Sir Aurel Stein in clearing up the difficulties of their itineraries

Recently he has followed out Alexander's Indian campaign. It is not for me to tell you about that I have said enough to explain to you that he was always heart and soul a scholar In addition to this medal now being presented to him he has gained the awards of many foreign geographical societies, as well as the Founders Medal of our own. We, as an Asiatic Society, engaged not in exploration but in the results of exploration, are very proud to welcome him here to-day I will only add that if you wish to form some idea of what Sir Aurel Stein has done, you will find much in a little book which has lately appeared called *In the Footsteps of Buddha*, by M. Grousset, of Paris. It is a kind of commentary on the travels of Hsuen Tsang, and contains many references to Stein's identifications.

The Government have always been sympathetic to Sir Aurel Stein and it is not their fault that he was prevented from attaining two of his great ambitions. One was to explore Afghanistan, and I will tell you the story of why he did not

do that. The other was his last projected journey in China, which he could not carry out because the country was in such a disturbed state that he could find no authority to sanction it. The story of Afghanistan is no longer a secret. Sir Aurel Stein told Lord Curzon that he wished to excavate some of the wonderful remains in Afghanistan Lord Curzon at once fell in with the idea and wrote to the Amir requesting his permission, and sending him Stein's great work on *The Ruins of Desert Cathay* No reply was received, and after two years Lord Curzon wrote again, and this time the Amir replied "I am having this book translated into Persian and as soon as it is completed and I have read it I will consider Your Excellency's request"

Sir Samuel Hoare The President, ladies and gentlemen, since I have been at the India Office I have found very few, if any, subjects connected with India in which there has been unanimity of opinion Indeed, looking back over a period of seven or eight very busy months I can think of many rather unpleasant tasks that I have had to carry out in connection with my duties On that account, all the more do I welcome the chance this afternoon of taking part in a ceremony upon which there is unanimity of opinion, in India, I am sure as well as in Great Britain, and to give myself the very pleasant duty of presenting on your behalf what I would describe as the *grand cordon* of your Society No student and no traveller has deserved it better than Sir Aurel Stein So far as my humble self is concerned, I will tell him that whenever I see an article over his name in *The Times* I rush to it at once and I read it long before I look at the reports of the debates of the House of Commons long even before I read the betting news, and long even before I read the Stock Exchange quotations. Surely the fact that he is not only a great traveller, a great student, a great archæologist, but also one of the most attractive writers, one, I feel sure, of the best sellers of the day, shows how unique his career has been I think the Government that I represent, viz, the Government of

India, should take great credit to itself for having discovered Sir Aurel Stein now nearly fifty years ago. I admit that the post they offered him was not the best, as we have heard just now, that of Registrar at Lahore University When Sir Denison Ross reminded us of that fact I remembered that some of the other names connected with India had an almost similar experience Warren Hastings, for instance, started life in India as an assistant warehouseman Stamford Raffles was no more than a boy messenger It was therefore quite in keeping with the best Indian tradition that the post Sir Aurel Stein first held should have been somewhat remote from the many distinguished activities that he has now fulfilled so well It is not for me, particularly after Sir Denison Ross's interesting account of Sir Aurel Stein's career, to go into any further detail about his achievements I would rather say in a sentence or two how they strike me It seems to me that the most conspicuous feature connected with them is their completeness We have just heard from Sir Denison Ross how Sir Aurel Stein is not only a great explorer and a great traveller he takes into account all the minutiæ connected with the kind of work upon which he is engaged. We see, therefore, a man who not only has a big part in a broad field, but a man who is able to do what you will remember Blake described as labouring the minute particulars as well—that is a combination that is rarely found in any single personality. Then again there is the completeness about Sir Aurel Stein's personality in that he seems to be just as physically strong as he is mentally alert Fully has he needed his physical strength in carrying out this long series of remarkable journeys It cannot often happen that such remarkable physical and mental qualities meet together in the same man, and to-day we congratulate Sir Aurel Stein upon that combination, and Sir Aurel, what better evidence could we have than the evidence you gave me just now as I came into the room ? You told me that at the age, I think, of three score years and ten, in the course of a very few weeks you were

going to embark on another journey of exploration in southern Persia. I have once or twice been in southern Persia, and I remember it as the hottest and driest place into which I have ever penetrated At one place where I had a forced landing in one of my flights they informed me that the cattle in the neighbourhood lived upon fish, but that when it was a really dry year, they had to fall back upon the tape from the cable office of the Indo-European telegraph I looked very anxiously at the butter with which they provided me to see whether the marks of the telegrams still showed upon it That takes me away from the object of my little speech which, is on your behalf and on behalf of the Government of India to offer our most sincere congratulations to Sir Aurel Stein, to hope that his career is far from finished, and that he has many interesting journeys still to perform, and on your behalf to present him with the gold medal of The Royal Asiatic Society.

Sir Aurel Stein The honour which your Council has been pleased to bestow upon me in the shape of the Medal I have just received from the hands of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India is bound to evoke in me feelings of deep gratitude They are prompted alike by the kind appreciation of my efforts in the past which this award implies, and by the recollection of all the help which, in the course of my life, scholar friends and others have given me, and which alone rendered those efforts possible I am not able to express that gratitude adequately and yet with the brevity which regard for the time of others in this busy centre of affairs makes advisable Most of my working life has been spent in the isolation, whether of congenial mountain retreats or else of equally cherished deserts, and such isolation, while it has favoured the written record of my labours, has ill-prepared me for speaking in public

What on the present occasion is foremost in my mind is grateful appreciation of the encouragement which this award is bound to afford me It comes from the learned Society

which for more than a century has gathered into its ranks the chief representatives of scholarly research in this country as applied to the past and present of the great civilizations of the East, and in particular of India. When I think of the work accomplished by all the great scholars ever since the days of Horace Hayman Wilson, Sir Henry Rawlinson, and others who have taken a leading part in guiding the activities of the Royal Asiatic Society, and through it have set the course for Orientalist studies in England and the Empire at large, my own direct share in furthering those researches seems indeed very modest All the more I must value the recognition your Council has now been pleased to accord to the aims that prompted my labours

These labours have owed so much from the start to the help and inspiration derived from scholars connected with this Society that gratitude and the prompting of historical sense as applied to the happenings of my own humble career, induce me to turn back here to the far off time, more than 47 years ago, when I was preparing in England to secure access to the ground where I thought I could best serve my chosen aims as a student It was India—and India it was to which I owe the good fortune of having been brought early in life to England, which has given me my best friends and which I feel proud to have been able for many years past to call my country

I shall not inflict upon you an account of the circumstances which directed my attention already in early boyhood to India, and in particular to its North-west Frontier and the Central Asian region beyond But I may as well mention that I was only about eleven years old when a passage, still well remembered by me, in one of my school books made me eager to reach that ground where classical influences had once met Indian culture amidst a population largely Iranian in race and long under Persian rule. This early attraction decided my University studies, mainly carried on under the guidance of that great explorer of ancient Vedic and Avestic

religion, Professor Roth, and thus brought me for their continuation to London and Oxford During those few years from 1885 to 1887 it was mainly at the Royal Asiatic Society that I had the good fortune to be brought into direct personal contact with such great savants as Sir Henry Rawlinson, Sir Henry Yule, Dr Rost and others too numerous to mention. There, too, I realized to my great advantage how much of scholarly research had been carried on by distinguished officials in India who, in the midst of heavy responsible duties and often in high office, had found leisure and strength to advance Eastern studies by important contributions

I had every reason to feel encouraged by their example when the friendly help of much respected scholar patrons secured to me, from a comparatively early age, the greatly desired chance of working in India I must consider it a particularly kind disposition of Fate that this chance was first opened to me 45 years ago in the Punjab Thus I was brought as close as general conditions would permit to that borderland of India and Iran towards which my eyes had been turned since my boyhood The post I held at Lahore for eleven years as Principal of the Oriental College and Registrar of the Punjab University, burdened me, it is true with heavy administrative duties But the example already referred to of distinguished members of that great Indian Civil Service showed me how to carry on cherished scholarly labours even with a minimum of leisure spared from official work It is a source of very deep gratification to me to remember that from the very time of my arrival at Lahore I found in your President, Sir Edward Maclagan, my oldest friend in the Punjab a friend who has ever since proved the kindest and most sympathetic of helpers I cannot exaggerate the boons I derived during those years from the encouragement which the friendly interest shown by him and by other distinguished Punjab Civilians gave me Nor can I ever forget that those years at Lahore gave me my closest friend in the army, General Dunsterville, and the most stimulating

of confrères in my lamented friend Sir Thomas Arnold, in Dr Allen, now President of Corpus at Oxford, and Mr Andrews

Consideration shown for my scholarly aims allowed me to use rare intervals of freedom for attempts at archæological work in the field Somehow I had always felt that geographical knowledge and personal experience on the ground afforded me the best inspiration for antiquarian and historical researches Geography has, indeed, been particularly kind to me in as much as it led me to use what leisure University vacations left me during that period for work in that beautiful Alpine land of Kashmir It would be hard for me to overestimate the benefit I derived mentally and physically from having been enabled to take up and complete during those vacations the tasks connected with the translation and elucidation of Kalhana's *Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir*, the only truly historical record surviving in Sanskrit literature

But the enjoyment which that work under such pleasant Alpine surroundings gave me, cannot obscure my grateful recollection of advantages in other directions which my long residence at the capital of the Punjab secured me Teaching work, carried on at the Oriental College mainly through the medium of Sanskrit, still in a way a living language, afforded me opportunities for getting practically acquainted with Indian ways of thought, of doing what I may call experimental psychology among my Brahmin students Contact with them taught me much of the differences between Indian and Western ways of thought Equally instructive was it to learn by practical experience in the University office something of those aims and methods of the British Administration in India to which the great sub-continent owes most of the peace and order it has enjoyed for more than a century. It may seem doubtful whether the great services to Oriental research rendered by that administration from the days of the East India Company have always been adequately realized.

Personally I have enjoyed the great good fortune of benefiting directly by that enlightened policy of the Government of India from the very time when, in the last year of the last century, I had the good fortune of being admitted directly into its service in the Education Department. It was due to the very generous consideration of the Indian Government that, at the very start of that Service, and years before my official transfer to the Archæological Survey, the chance of exploratory work in Central Asia was opened to me. My attention had been called years before to the promising field which Chinese Turkestan held out for archæological exploration The labours of my lamented old friend, Dr Rudolf Hoernle, on chance acquisitions of ancient writings from ruined sites of the Tarim basin, had by then afforded definite proof how thoroughly Indian culture, largely through Buddhist propaganda, had penetrated that region of Innermost Asia

But I might perhaps have never realized the eagerly cherished hope of there serving archæological and geographical interests combined, if the Government of India had not been prepared to support my endeavours in that direction from the very time when I entered its service There again it was the friendly interest of Sir Edward Maclagan, then Deputy Secretary, if I remember rightly, in the Revenue Department of the Central Government, which helped to secure official sanction and the necessary means for my first Central Asian expedition

It was no doubt a result of the aridity of climatic conditions throughout the Tarim basin that, in the course of that comparatively short period of freedom granted to me for exploratory work, I was able to bring to light so many relics of the powerful influences exercised in that region by Indian, Chinese and Hellenistic cultures, in the shape of ancient documents, art remains, etc , from sand-buried sites in the Taklamakan Desert It would have been quite impossible to secure the full scientific value of these finds if I had not

been enabled from the start to obtain for their examination and study the help of most competent collaborators in different branches of Oriental research I feel proud to refer here to the devoted labours of such distinguished confrères as the late Dr. Hoernle, Professor Rapson, Dr. Barnett and that lamented, great sinologue, M Chavannes, who were prepared for years to give those finds the full benefit of their learning and critical acumen

But it would probably have been equally impossible for me to organize effective collaboration on this and subsequent occasions if the Government of India had not been prepared to allow me necessary freedom for the working up of such manifold materials by the grant of adequate periods of Special Duty I have not failed to record my gratitude for these and similar concessions after subsequent exploratory journeys, both in my official reports and in the personal narratives I was generously permitted to publish But it afforded me no small gratification that the presence here of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, the highest representative in this country of British rule in India, enables me to express to him in person my sincere gratitude for all the generous help received from his predecessors and in particular from Sir Austen Chamberlain

To many of those who have honoured me by their presence on this occasion it will be unnecessary to relate in detail how that first Central Asian venture of mine was followed up by two much longer and still more fruitful expeditions into Eastern Turkestan and Westernmost China. It serves to relieve my conscience that the ample archæological and geographical results which attended those expeditions lasting from 1906 to 1908, and again from 1913 to 1916, have found their full record in publications brought out under the orders of the Government of India and the Secretary of State But it is my pleasant obligation to emphasize on this occasion also how much I owed to the unfailing and ever effective support which arrangements with regard to these expeditions

received from my friend Sir John Marshall, then Director-General of Archæology in India. Extensive have been my obligations to the large bands of distinguished scholars, including some of the foremost Orientalists of our times, who have unstintedly given their labours towards the publication and elucidation of those manifold materials brought back. I feel certain that without their expert help it would not have been possible to reap the full fruit of the work I had been enabled, by the support of the Government of India and with the aid also of the British Museum authorities, to accomplish in Innermost Asia. Nor ought I to omit grateful reference to the very valuable help which I received throughout from the Survey of India for the topographical tasks connected with my antiquarian labours.

Friends have often dilated upon such physical hardships and privations as prolonged explorations on desert ground or in high mountain regions have implied. But in reality I must confess that what remains most in my recollection is the pleasure which the interesting work on previously unexplored ground gave me. Whether excavating at ancient sites in the waterless desert during the bitter cold of Turkestan winters, or tracing ancient routes through the salt wastes of the dried-up ancient sea-bed of Lop, or doing survey work on the high snowy ranges of the Kun-lun and Nan-shan, I always felt at my ease. My conscience as a historical student obliges me to acknowledge in passing that there were a few occasions also when I had a somewhat uncomfortable time, as for example, when I lost my toes while surveying on the glacier-clad crest line of the great Tibetan range south of Khotan, or when leading my caravan across the crumpled-up salt crust of the Lop Desert, uncertain whether our supply of ice would suffice for the length of time that might be needed to track there the ancient Chinese trade route into Central Asia. But such incidents present themselves now only in the soft light of historical perspective.

I fully realize that the work I have been able to do in

those distant regions has been rendered practicable only by my good fortune of having inherited a fairly tough constitution, and for that I feel indeed very grateful It also explains why I have endeavoured, since the period of Central Asian exploration has closed for me, to carry on similar labours on such semi-desert ground as most of British Baluchistan and Makranis, and recently to follow up these investigations of prehistoric sites in the even more desolate territory of Persian Baluchistan

As long as physical fitness lasts I shall endeavour to continue my efforts in the field I am encouraged in this aim by the continued friendly interest shown by fellow scholars It has found its most striking expression in the great honour with which the Royal Asiatic Society has been pleased to recognize my endeavours, and for the encouragement it has thus afforded me on the present occasion I shall cherish a most grateful recollection as long as life lasts

Sir Edward Maclagan I wish just to emphasize how greatly the Royal Asiatic Society feels the honour of having had the opportunity of awarding this medal to a man of the calibre of Sir Aurel Stein Perhaps it is natural for us, as Sir Denison Ross has suggested, to look mainly to such qualifications of Sir Aurel Stein as his wide erudition and his accurate scholarship, but at the same time I think that at the back of our minds what we all admire most in Sir Aurel Stein is the man himself and his indomitable courage, courage both physical and moral I do not think that I have ever heard Sir Aurel Stein make any real complaint, but the nearest thing I have ever heard to it was a reference to the difficulty of obtaining funds from America and Europe for travel in Central Asia, as compared with say, Mesopotamia or Palestine or Egypt, and his expression of a wistful desire that some evidence could be brought forward to show that Moses or Abraham had travelled in Central Asia. Speaking of Sir Aurel Stein's courage, I am reminded of a story which is probably known to many here in some form or other As I remember

it, the great Persian conqueror, Nādir Shāh, was sitting one day with the captains of his army examining a consignment of swords, and as the swords were brought up one of them received general approbation, until the criticism was made that it was too short, and then a young officer present was heard to give the word of command "one pace to the front". That is what has been the motto of Sir Aurel Stein's life when he is in difficulties, "one pace to the front." Wherever he has been, whatever difficulties he has had—and there have been many difficulties in all these travels—he has relied on his own resources, has not criticised the length of his sword, but has, as I say, said "one pace to the front" and so has conquered the difficulties that have been before him It is an honour to us to have been able to award the medal to Sir Aurel Stein, and the honour has been greatly enhanced this afternoon by the fact that the medal has been actually presented to him by so high an authority as the Secretary of State for India I wish on your behalf to express to Sir Samuel Hoare our great thankfulness for the sympathy which he has shown to research and scholarship by coming in this way to us this afternoon and helping us in recognizing the merits of a great scholar, and great explorer. It was an exceedingly kind thought of his to have come and helped us in this way, and although we have not been able to provide him with any economic or political pabulum, yet I trust he will not think this afternoon wasted To us, it has been an immense satisfaction to have had him here, and I wish on your behalf to offer him our most sincere and grateful thanks.

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## The Excavations at Jericho

### Necropolis and City

On the occasion of the Anniversary General Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, Professor John Garstang, D.Sc., Hon LL.D , F S A , gave a deeply interesting lecture upon the results found during the excavation of the City, the Necropolis, and the Palace at Jericho, together with some

of the deductions made therefrom They almost give the impression that the description of the capture of the fortress, in the Book of Joshua, must have been originally the work of eyewitnesses.

The lecturer said :—

Three years ago, when Sir Charles Marston first enabled me to re-examine the site of Jericho, several problems of peculiar importance to students of Bible history were still awaiting solution The earlier excavations, while throwing new light upon the archæology of the ancient city, indeed upon the culture of Canaan as a whole, had left the dating of the several lines of defensive walls and ramparts in considerable doubt, and a subject for technical discussion One expert frankly stated his opinion that during the late Bronze Age (*c* 1600–1200 B C ), the period which under any theory should cover the entry of the Israelites into Canaan, the city of Jericho already lay in ruins.

Our first season's work found the solution of this initial difficulty. A stout wall of brick that lay along the western brink of the mound was seen in various unexcavated places to be overlaid by the remains of a second wall, following the same line With this was associated a thinner screen wall of the same material The stratifications and details of evidence were examined, and enabled us at the time to state a definite and agreed conclusion —

"The main defences of Jericho in the late Bronze Age (*c* 1600–1200 B C ) followed the upper brink of the city mound, and comprised two parallel walls, the outer 6 feet and the inner 12 feet thick Investigations along the west side show continuous signs of destruction and conflagration. The outer wall suffered most, its remains falling down the slope. The inner wall is preserved only where it abuts upon the citadel or tower to a height of 18 feet ; elsewhere it is found largely to have fallen, together with the remains of buildings upon it, into the space between the walls which was filled with ruins and debris. Traces of intense fire are plainly to be seen,

including reddened masses of brick, cracked stones, charred timbers and ashes Houses alongside the walls are found burned to the ground, their roofs fallen upon the domestic pottery within"

There remained the question of the date when the walls and city were destroyed In my own opinon, based upon a detailed examination of the stratifications related to the outer wall, this had probably taken place about 1400 B C, the culture being that of the late Bronze Age before the infiltration of the Mykenæan wares Our second season was devoted largely to this problem, and led us to examine another unexcavated area overlooking the spring on the eastern side There, also, came to light further traces of conflagration and destruction, several burnt-out store-rooms of an extensive building (subsequently recognized as the "palace") yielded a welcome series of pottery types, the date of which would help us materially to decide the matter But at this stage, again, technical questions arose Criteria for the precise dating of the pottery types were wanting, and to this end we determined to search for the necropolis in the hope of finding dated groups In this quest we have not been disappointed Late in the second season a burial place of Middle Bronze Age I (c 2000-1800 B C) was located it proved rich in deposits of pottery vases [1] bone objects, beads, and amulets, and encouraged a further exploration of the area

The third season's work at Jericho has been rewarded by results of unusual interest and value Foremost may be placed the archaeological materials recovered from other Bronze Age tombs These were located in unbroken ground some 100 yards westward from the city mound, not far from the tomb first discovered and, like it, they proved to be practically intact In all twenty-five have been opened and cleared, and they yielded 1,800 registered objects, mostly

[1] For a full description with drawings of the pottery types and photographs see the current number of the *Annals of Archæology* (published by the University Press of Liverpool), vol. xix, parts 1-2

pottery vases, of which some 1,500 were in good condition, and several hundred without a flaw Many of the specimens are new to the corpus of Palestinian types, while quite a number can claim a measure of artistic merit which throws new light upon the standard of Canaanitish culture

The deposits cover the whole range of the Bronze Age down to 1400 B.C , the later groups being dated by royal Egyption scarabs and they represent the various phases in the life of the city already recognized in our earlier exploration

*The Early Bronze Age, 2500–2000 B C*

The deep levels of the early Bronze Age in the city mound are still largely beyond our reach, but here and there trenches or denuded spots have enabled us to trace the line of a protecting wall of this period, apparently the earliest of the site It was constructed of large slabs of mud-brick bonded with thick layers of bituminous earth, suggesting a Babylonian influence

Last year we were able to clear also some rooms of the period in a low-lying area near the spring , and this year, in the necropolis, the depths of a looted tomb yielded a group of small striped vases with miniature handles characteristic of the period, resembling those from the city, together with fragments of others with high shoulders and developed necks which seem to constitute new types It is noteworthy that at Jericho the best worked flints, including arrow and lance heads, are found in the deposits of this age ; though the layer overlies much deeper strata representing a long period of primitive Stone Age culture

*Middle Bronze Age I, 2000–1800 B C.*

In the early part of the Middle Bronze Age, estimated elsewhere from Egyptian analogies to fall about 2000 B C , the site was enclosed by a stout wall of large unbaked bricks, which followed the brink of the mound, and enclosed an area of about seven acres. A well-built tower, 60 feet in

length, protected the gateway and the approaches to the spring on the eastern side, and it contained three deep chambers in which we found helpful stratified deposits. A room at the foot of the tower gave us a finely carved bull's head in darkened ivory (4 75 cm in height), in which again may be detected a Babylonian feeling

The known pottery types of this period, hitherto limited though distinctive, have been greatly augmented by the recovery of nearly 800 specimens from the first tomb discovered in the necropolis This, as already stated, was located, and the work of clearing begun last year, reserving the bottom layer with some 200 further specimens for the opening task this season The pottery is distinguished by its variety of forms, ranging from pointed juglets to standing vases with small side handles Technically the favourite finish was by red slip, burnished , decoration by broad bands of paint was incipient, and there is trace of patterns by incision Jugs are provided with single loop handles, while bowls frequently have the two ledge or wavy handles familiar in predynastic Egypt Most suggestive are a number of vessels upon which are represented the human arms and breasts, recalling again a Babylonian prototype A complete series of this period has been deposited in the Hunterian Museum of the University of Glasgow

*Middle Bronze Age II, 1800–1600 B C*

In the second part of the Middle Bronze Age, which covers the Hyksos period in Egypt (c 1800–1600 B C ), the city underwent a notable expansion Already, in the preceding phase, houses had been creeping outside the walls down the slopes of the mound, which was now surrounded by a massive rampart This comprised a glacis of great rough-hewn stones, an upper defensive parapet of brick, and an outer fosse , the area enclosed was now about 10 acres in extent. Local prosperity now attained its zenith, a fact clearly seen in the furniture of the newly excavated tombs Pottery became more elegant in form, more varied in design, more

perfect in technique and pains were taken to finish off the better vases with artistic pride. Decoration, though still linear, was attempted with more confidence, and the surfacing of vases with a white or creamy slip, for which the locality provides a favourable material, introduced a new feature to the ceramic art

Plastic art, of which examples are rare in the Bronze Age, is represented by a unique rhyton This is a pedestal vase of local ware and form, modelled externally to represent the head of a bearded man, and almost life size So far as I am aware, no similar specimens are extant; the Phaistos rhyton, which alone belongs to the same age, differs *inter alia* in that the hairs are represented by points of paint, while in this case they are indicated by pin-holes The back of the head, below the hair, is partly modelled and treated with red-brown paint The nose is of the Armeno-Hittite type, grotesquely exaggerated, and the facial expression is faintly reminiscent of Etruscan art, an impression perhaps arising from the suggestion of a smile in the drawing of the lips The "*barbiche*" also points towards northern or Hittite Syria In the lack of information as to racial affinities of the local population it would be rash to draw a general inference from this interesting object But the evident prosperity which Jericho enjoyed during the Hyksos period suggests that it benefited, like other cities of Canaan, from the political regime If there is any truth in the theory that Hittite influence was behind the movement that overran Egypt at this time (as debated in *The Times* of 1902), we may see in this head, if not the features of a Hyksos leader, at any rate the reflection of Hittite infiltration which planted groups of settlers here and there, and stamped its peculiar racial impress upon the people of the land.

*Late Bronze Age, c. 1500 B.C.*

The transition from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age Culture is not well defined in the ceramic series, nor is it

marked by any sudden change It is true that the defences of the city, after the partial destruction of its outer ramparts, retreated to the old lines upon the brink of the mound, while in the necropolis the grotto tombs gave way to simple graves from one to two yards deep Otherwise the local arts were continuous, though bearing witness to a certain deterioration; so we may assume that whatever punishment was inflicted on the city by the Pharaohs at the close of the Hyksos regime, the local population returned in part to the old site and resumed their former customs Burial was still carried out by inhumation, for the most part in family or common graves, some of which were found filled with offerings and the debris of human remains, to within a few inches of the surface One tomb dated in its fourth layer to the joint reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III contained more than 500 vases, and the traces of more than fifty burials The lowest levels show no traces of Egyptian influence, which thus makes itself felt in Jericho for the first time about 1500 B C The line of demarcation is quite clear in the deposits, and though a certain lag must be allowed for in a place relatively distant from the trade routes of Egypt, it was apparently only at this time that the Pharaohs' rule became effective in the lower valley of the Jordan

Thereafter, the fifteenth century B C is well represented, the "bil-bil" wares of Cyprus and their imitations made their appearance, as in Egypt, at this time, but there is a conspicuous absence of Mykenæan products and the distinctive art of the Tell-el-Amarna period The series of scarabs, of which ninety-four were recovered from the various layers of these tombs, end with the reign of Amenhetep III. They have been examined independently by Professor Newberry, who kindly travelled from Cairo for the purpose, and in his expert opinion they range through the Hyksos period into the early part of the XVIII Dynasty, but comprise no specimens of the period from Akhenaton (Amenhetep IV) to Ramses II, inclusive of the former reign All the evidence

from the tombs thus points to an interruption in the life of Jericho in the age of Amenhetep III.

A detailed comparison of objects found in the burnt store-rooms of the Palace Area, and of fragments from the houses against the ruins of the city walls, with specimens from the dated tombs, leaves no doubt about the reality of this conclusion The Bronze Age City of Jericho perished at some date after 1411 and before 1375 B C

*Iron Age I, c 1200 B C*

It cannot be supposed that a site with so many advantages remained long uninhabited, but the next trace of occupation brings us to the Iron Age, about 1200 B C , and in this respect the evidence from the city and the necropolis is also in agreement Overlaying and by the side of the Palace Area of the Bronze Age lies a well-marked stratum of the early Iron Age , its remarkable features are a cobble-paved street ascending in steps to the top of the mound , and the foundations of a considerable building with stout stone walls. In the necropolis there was found one tomb of this period , it was isolated from the rest and differed entirely in character, being like a pit The burials therein had been partially cremated With them were associated a number of large armlets of bronze and some of iron. Most instructive, however, was a scarab showing a northern deity, a type of Hadad, standing upon the back of an animal, like the consort of the Mother-Goddess at *Hierapolis Syriae* It appears probable from these indications that one of the Pharaohs, presumably Ramses III, established on the mound over the spring an outpost of northern mercenaries (Sherdens, or Philistines, or maybe Hittites) whose burial practices differed so radically from those of the old population , and if the scarab bearing the name of Thutmose III, found in the same pit, proves to belong to the King's reign (of which there may be a doubt), it would appear that such a garrison had been installed when the city was first annexed.

The outer fortifications of the city, however, remained in ruins, and so far as our investigations have proceeded they were not restored until the second phase of the Iron Age, about 900 B C, after which there is abundant trace of renewed activity and occupation, lasting, though fitfully, to the Byzantine epoch.

The work this season, as in the past, was done entirely by voluntary helpers; the repairing and general supervision in the camp and store-rooms by my wife, surveys and photography by Mr Harold Falconer, paintings by Mr H. B. Gray, drawings by Boulos Eff Araj and Miss Mabel Ratcliffe, field notes in the city by Dr Aage Schmidt, registration and records by Mlle J Krausse and the cataloguing by my daughter Meroe Sir Charles Marston, the constant patron of these researches, was generously seconded on this occasion by Mr Davies Bryan, in the interests of the University Museum, Aberystwyth Other collaborating institutions were the Musées du Louvre (Paris), the University of Liverpool, which I represent, and the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society The series of antiquities accruing to the expedition will be deposited in these several institutions, the first selection remaining in the Palestine Museum, Jerusalem

The substance of this lecture appeared in *The Times* of 12th May, 1932

## Siamese Painting

At a lecture delivered on 28th April before the members of the Royal Asiatic Society, Mr Quaritch Wales, who was for some years the State Chamberlain at the Court of the King of Siam, described the first attempt to interpret the ideals of Siamese painting and its relation to the Indian style of Arjanta

Siamese paintings are found as frescoes, banners hung in temples and illustrations in manuscripts, and the subjects are usually connected with the Buddhist religion and the Ramayana. No attempt has previously been made to throw light on the historical development of Siamese painting and the

difficulty is that no examples survive from a period anterior to the destruction of the old capital Ayudhya in A.D. 1767. But the earliest of the Bangkok paintings reproduce the old Ayudhya style and though this had been decadent for at least three centuries prior to the fall of Ayudhya, there is reason to suppose that about the thirteenth to the fourteenth century A D Siamese painting may have enjoyed a brief but bright period characterized by a comparatively vigorous and living style The evidence in favour of this is supplied by a series of incised Jataka drawings on stone, dating from the thirteenth century, characterized by a grace and suppleness unknown to later Siamese art and the direct result of the reaction of the Siamese artistic temperament to the new and vital experiences provided by their attainment of freedom from Khmer domination, and their conversion to Sinhalese Buddhism These Jataka drawings show a strong resemblance to certain contemporary frescoes found at Polonnaruva in Ceylon

It is also remarkable that certain late Siamese paintings, though decadent, show a definite relationship to the famous Sigiriya frescoes It seems, therefore, that Siamese painting is in the main to be regarded as a decadent offshoot of the classical Ajanta school of Indian painting, but early Thai and Khmer influences have combined with this to produce a distinctly national style There is a little Chinese influence but this is late, and is chiefly noticeable in the formal decorative motives and often also in backgrounds A tendency to realism, as a result of western influence, is found in the most recent paintings

Mr. Quaritch Wales exhibited numerous beautiful examples of the style of Siamese painting which he described.

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**The hearty congratulations of the Society are passed to Professor C. G Seligman upon the presentation to him by the Bengal Asiatic Society of the Nelson Annandale Gold Medal for contributions to the study of Anthropology in Asia.**

## Gertrude Bell Memorial School of Archaeology

The subscribers to the Fund for establishing a British School of Archæology in Iraq, as a memorial to Gertrude Bell, who died in Baghdad on 12th July, 1926, have now appointed a Council on which the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Durham, London, the British Museum, the British Academy, Royal Geographical Society, Royal Asiatic Society, Society of Antiquaries, and other Societies are represented The President is Sir Percy Cox (late High Commissioner for Iraq), the Chairman of the Executive Committee is Sir Edgar Bonham Carter, Mr E H Keeling is Hon Secretary, and Brigadier-General Sir Osborne Mance Hon Treasurer The funds raised up to the present total nearly £9,000 In addition, the income from sums of £6,000 and £4,000 bequeathed by Gertrude Bell and by her father, Sir Hugh Bell, to the British Museum on trust will, it is hoped, be payable to the School The disposal of the income is under consideration The office of the School is temporarily at 20 Wilton Street, S W 1

## Notice

Owing to the summer holidays it would be greatly appreciated if correspondence is reduced to a minimum during the months of August and September

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# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S JOURNAL

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# JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1932

PART IV—OCTOBER


## Zum Alter der fruhen Fachüberlieferungen der indischen Medizin, der *Saṃhitā* des *Caraka, Suśruta* und *Vāgbhaṭa*


VON REINHOLD F G MULLER


NICHT ganz unahnlich der allgemeinen Achtung vor der Vereinigung der drei Veden (*trayī vidyā*) geniesst auf medizinischem Gebiet ein hohes Ansehen die alte Trias (*vṛddha-trayī*), welche aus den Arzten *Caraka, Suśruta* und *Vāgbhata* zusammengesetzt ist. Nach der Überlieferung und in dem Gesichtswinkel der Inder erscheinen diese Medizinlehrer der Vorzeit durchaus als geschichtliche Personlichkeiten, wie manche ihrer Vorlaufer Einer jener letzten, *Hārīta*, bezeichnet *Caraka, Suśruta* und schliesslich *Vāgbhata* in ihren Sammellehren als Vertreter der drei Welt-Zeitalter (*carakaḥ suśrutaś caiva vāgbhataś ca tathā 'paraḥ | mukhyāś ca saṃhitā vācyās tisra eva yuge yuge ||*) Die Sachlage, welche die apokryphe *Hārīta-Saṃhitā* in ihrem Anhang (*praśista*) schildert, lasst sich kritisch unschwer uberblicken. Das Zitat beleuchtet aber anderseits auch allgemein den Boden, welchem noch heut die geschichtliche Einstellung der Inder entspringt, in Bindungen zu ihren uberkommenen Weltanschauungen und Religionen, und nicht so selten unter Anerkennung solcher Richtlinien seitens Beobachter eines westlichen Kulturkreises In derartigen Materialien erscheint die Grenze zwischen Sage und Geschichte sachlich und

zeitlich verwaschen und eine kritische Betrachtung bald in mittelalterliche, bald in neuzeitliche Verhältnisse verworfen. Bei der fast sprichwortlichen Unsicherheit des Zeitmasses indischer Belange wurde daher folgerichtig der entsprechende Schwerpunkt geschichtlicher Forschung der kritischen Beurteilung des Text-Inhaltes eingereiht. In dieser Richtung laufen die bahnbrechenden und grundlegenden Untersuchungen eines Cordier, Hoernle und Jolly [1] Die stehengebliebenen Unstimmigkeiten weisen aber auch auf die verschiedenen Moglichkeiten in der Auswertung des Textmaterials und des wenig ubersichtlichen Geflechtes seiner Kommentare hin Bei einem Versuch zur Einebnung des sachlichen Zwiespaltes drangt sich aber immer wieder der Mangel zeitlicher Bestimmungen wie eine Sperre auf fur einen Fortschritt und zwingt oft zu einem Verzicht, der fur einen Erfolg keiner Erwahnung bedarf Anderseits regt aber auch der Vorgang an, einige neue Gesichtpunkte zu finden, um das Problem einer zeitlichen Umgrenzung der

[1] Hier wird auf folgende hauptsächlichen Arbeiten verwiesen, welche im weitern Verlauf in der Regel nicht besonders zitiert werden

Cordier *Vagarjuna et l'Uttaratantra de la Suçrutasamhita*, Antananarivo, 1896 *Vāgbhaṭa et l'Aṣṭāngahṛdayasamhitā*, Besançon, 1896 *Quelques données nouvelles à propos des traites medicaux sanscrits antérieurs au XIIIe siècle*, Calcutta, 1899 „Vāgbhaṭa“ *JA* 1901 (cf Note bibliographique, ibid) „Recentes decouvertes de mss medicaux sanscrits dans l'Inde“ *Museon*, 1903 „Introduction à l'etude des traités médicaux sanscrits inclus dans le Tanjur tibetain“ *BEFEO* 1903

Hoernle „Studies in Ancient Indian Medicine“ *JRAS* 1906, 1908, 1909 „The Authorship of the Charaka Samhita“ *Archiv f Geschichte d Medizin*, 1908 *Studies in the Medicine of Ancient India*, pt I (cf Introduction, Chronology), Oxford, 1907

Jolly „Zur Quellenkunde der indischen Medizin“ *ZDMG* 1900, 1902, 1904, 1906 „The Bower Manuscript“ *ZDMG* 1899, 1913 *Grundr d Ind Ar Phil u Altrtkd III*/10, *Medizin* (Zur Quellenkunde), Strassburg, 1901

Als Textausgaben sind benutzt worden *Caraka-Saṃhitā*, ed Narendranātha Śāstrin (Lahore, 1929), abgekurzt *CaS* *Suśruta-Saṃhitā*, ed Yādava Śarman (Bombay, 1931), abgekurzt *SuS* *Vāgbhata-Aṣṭāṅgasaṃgraha*, ed Rudra Pāraśava (Trichur, 1924–6) = *VāS* *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdayasaṃhitā*, ed A M Kunte (Bombay, 1925) = *VāH* *Bhāvamiśra, Bhāvaprakāśa*, ed Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara (Calcutta, 1875)

alten indischen Medizinuberlieferungen und ihrer Urheber einem erreichbaren Ziel näher zu bringen, wenn auch absolute Masszahlen nicht damit erhalten werden konnen.

Von den beruhmten drei alten Arzten gilt unbestritten als der jungste *Vāgbhaṭa*, sowohl nach der bodenständigen allgemeinen Tradition, als auch deshalb, weil er in der *Carakasaṃhitā* (*CaS*) und *Suśrutasaṃhitā* (*SuS*) nirgends erwahnt wird, wahrend er selbst wenigstens in der *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya-Saṃhitā* (*Uttara*- *40, 88*) diese beiden Vorganger als Quellen nennt Sein Name, welcher auch abgewandelt und etymologisiert uberliefert ist,[1] beschrankt sich nicht auf seine Person, da auch andere (nichtarztliche) Inder so bezeichnet werden. Zu seiner Altersbestimmung ist vorallem ein Bericht des chinesischen Pilgers *I-tsing* herangezogen worden, welcher 673–95 Indien bereiste und sich vorubergehend mit seiner Medizin beschaftigte („I made a successful study in medical science, but as it is not my proper vocation I have finally given it up“)[2] *I-tsing* beschreibt kurz die 8 Teile des altesten indischen Medizin-Systems (*āyurveda*) und gibt dann an „These eight arts formerly existed in eight books, but lately a man epitomized them and made them into one bundle. All physicians in the five parts of India practise according to this book“[3]

[1] Im *Traumschlüssel des Jagaddeva* (hersg, uberstzt u komment v. J v. Negelein, Giessen, 1912) taucht der Name des Arztes, welcher durch seine Begleiter gesichert ist, als „Herr der Rede“ auf (*Svapnacintāmaṇi 2, 160 susruta-vācaspati-caraka*) Dabei handelt es sich wohl nicht um einen Hinweis auf die Enstehung des Namens, als vielmehr um eine etymologische Spielerei, wie nicht so selten in der indischen Literatur Hierzu kann die Erklärung des Namens *Caraka* vorweg genommen werden Im *Bhāvaprakāśa* (S *6/7*) findet sich der späte Niederschlag folgender Legende Der heilkundige Schlangenfurst *Śesa* verkorpert sich im Sohn des vedischen Weisen *Viśuddha* (des „reinen“) und wird *Caraka* genannt, weil er als „Kundschafter“ gegen die Krankheiten gekommen war

[2] Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, by I-tsing, *126 ff* (Oxford, 1896)

[3] Herr Prof Wedemeyer hat mich auf meine Bitte dankenswert zu den chinesischen Texten hier und S 806 beraten, so dass die einschlägigen Ausfuhrungen auf seine Hilfe zuruckgehen ***sse chi pah shuh sien wei pah pu***

Bei dieser Schilderung muss berucksichtigt werden, dass der chinesische Pilger fur seine Landsleute schrieb und dass einzelne Unebenheiten bei einem Vergleich mit der indischen Medizin aus diesem Gesichtswinkel zu bewerten sind.[1]

*kin-jih yu jen lüeh wei yih chiah* = Diese acht Techniken bildeten früher acht Abteilungen (Werke), neuerdings hat jemand sie verkurzt, sodass sie einen Band bilden (— sie in einen Band zusammengezogen)

[1] Die Länder von Wutien (*wu-t'ien chi ti*), das funfgeteilte Indien, in welchem das „ neuerdings " vollendete Werk des Arztes [*Vāgbhata*] so schnell Anklang fand, durfte mehr oder weniger nur dem Gebiet entsprechen, an welchem der chinesische Pilger Anteil nahm Auch unter der Buchform des Bandes (*chiah*) ist wohl die chinesische zu verstehen, welche in den Holzdeckeln der indischen ähnelte Wenn aber *I-tsing* den Teil indischer Chirurgie, welcher *śālākya* genannt wird, durch Akupunktur umschreibt, so hat er sicherlich seine heimische Medizin im Sinn Vielleicht ist er durch die indische Wortbildung oder jenes nadelformige spitze Instrument *śalākā*, dazu verleitet worden, welches zur Bezeichnung jener Chirurgie Anlass gab und hauptsachlich bei der Staroperation verwandt wurde Sachlich muss hierzu betont werden, dass die Akupunktur auf den ostasiatischen Kulturkreis beschrankt geblieben ist, jedenfalls der indischen Medizin fremd war *I-tsing* ist sich dieser Verhältnisse auch scheinbar etwas bewusst „ In the healing arts of acupuncture and cautery [wegen dieser Anreihung = Moxibustion] and the skill of feeling the pulse China has never been superseded by any country of *Ga*mbudvîpa (India) " Das Fühlen des Pulses, welches hier erwahnt wird, beansprucht gleichfalls Beachtung Es ist der indischen Medizin ebenso im 7 Jahrhundert fremd und wird von *Vāgbhata* nicht angegeben (Jolly, *Medizin, 8*) Nebenherbemerkt beweist diese Stelle, dass jene Diagnostik nicht aus dem Westen in die indische Medizin Eingang gefunden haben muss Um 1300 durfte sie schon allgemein bekannt gewesen sein, weil im *Prabandhacintāmani* des *Merutuṅga* (ed Rāmacandra Śāstrin, *135*, Ubers Tawney, *81*) ein Arzt *Līla* erwähnt wird, welcher den Puls sah oder beobachtete (*nāḍīdarśana*)

Schwerwiegender sind die Unstimmigkeiten beurteilt worden, welche die Reihenfolge der Teile des *Āyurveda* im *VāS* und *VāH* betreffen gegenüber der Anordnung nach *I-tsing*, da letzte mit *SuS*, *Sūtra-* 1, *7 ff* bis auf einen Wechsel unter zwei Gliedern übereinstimmt [Das Ergebnis der laufenden Untersuchungen hier durfte dies auffallige Verhältnis in einem anderen Lichte erscheinen lassen ] Die hierauf beruhenden Bedenken seitens Jolly (*JRAS* 1907, *172-175*), ob *I-tsing* auf *Vāgbhata* tatsachlich anspielt, hat Hoernle (*JRAS* 1907, *413–417*) nicht gänzlich beheben können Aber streng genommen, ist die obige Reihenfolge in der *SuS* erst durch die Kommentare um die Wende des 1 Jahrtausend gesichert Dagegen weist die Anordnung der Teile des *Āyurveda* wieder neue Abwandlungen auf, mit welchen die *SuS* in der arabischen Literatur im Jahre 850 auftaucht (cf Meyerhof, *Isis*, 1931, S *43* d Separats) Jede einschlägige Beweisführung steht also hierbei auf einem schwankenden Boden

Immerhin ist es aber doch auffallig, dass der Arzt nicht namentlich genannt wird, welcher diese anerkannte Entwicklung ausloste Somit bleibt fur einen Ausgleich nur die sachliche Verbindung von „ eight arts " und „ epitomized " zum Titel *Aṣṭāṅga-Saṃgraha* (Zusammenfassung der 8 Glieder — sc. der Medizin — *VāS*) ubrig. Diese Gleichung ruht zwar auf einem Gemeinplatz, welchen auch andere Überlieferungen fur sich in Anspruch nehmen. Sie ist aber doch auf *Vāgbhaṭa* eingeengt, weil allein unter allen ubrigen Lehrsammlungen die ihm zugeschriebenen beiden Werke, *VāS* und *VāH*, mit ihrem Beginn von der Achtgliederung ausgehen und diese im Text durchfuhren

Eine weitere Bindung der Aufmerksamkeit des religiosen Pilgers kann wohl in den buddhistischen Anspielungen im *VāS* erblickt werden Bei seiner vereinzelten und schlechten Text-Überlieferung konnten zwar nachtragliche Zusatze in Rechnung gezogen werden [1] Die spatere und abhängige *VāH* weist jedoch die buddhistische Tendenz in noch starkerem Grade auf.[2] Deshalb hat wohl auch *VāH* in den tibetischen Tanjur Aufnahme gefunden Ihre Einverleibung vollzog sich nach Huth im 11 Jahrhundert, gemeinsam mit zwei kommentativen Werken [3] Ein Kommentator, *Candranandana*, lasst sich ins 8 Jahrhundert datieren unter der

Es nutzt hierbei auch nicht eine bodenständige Tradition, in der die Reihe des *Āyurveda* in zwei Teile zerlegt werden, welche die fünf ersten *sthāna* (unter Vereinigung von *nidāna-* und *śārīra-*) umfassen und das *Uttaratantra* in seine vier Hauptgruppen auflosen (cf Mukhopādhāya, *Hist of Ind Medicine, 589*)

[1] Die Handschriften des *VāS* sind selten, sein Textbestand wird nur durch einen Kommentar — mutmasslich jüngeren Alters — gesichert, durch *Indumatī* bzw „ Indu " (Trichur, 1924–6) Ein unvollständiges Kommentar (*vyākhyā*) mit unsicherem Bezug birgt the Government Library Madras (Nr 13071), ebendort ein homonymisches einschlägiges Worterbuch (*nighaṇṭu*, Nr 13256) Damit wären wohl Weiterungen zu den kurzen Ausführungen von Cordier (*Muséon*, 1903, *14/15*) erschöpft

[2] Eine gute Übersicht bietet Cordier, *JA* 1901, *167 ff* Nebenherbemerkt weicht der Beginn der Textausgabe Trichur von der Bombay 1888, welche sehr unzugänglich ist, nicht unerheblich ab

[3] *Sitzgb Ak Wiss*, Berlin, 1895, *270, 283*, *ZDMG*. 1895, *280–281*.

**Voraussetzung, dass** sein tibetischer Name *Zla-ba-la dga-ba* **mit dem** *Zla-ba[-la] mnon-dga*, identisch ist, einem **Gefahrten des** *Vairocana*, welch letzter wahrend der Regierungszeit des **Königs** *Khri-sron-ldeu-btsan* die vier *Tantra* (*rgyud-bzhi*) der **Medizin** nach noch unbekannten Sanskritquellen ubersetzte.[1] **Wenn** darnach die Zeit des *Candranandana* und seines **Kommentars** *Padārthacandrikā* richtig berechnet ist, so **mussten** die Daten fur *VāH* und *VāS* nahe beieinander liegen, **da** *I-tsing* den letzten kurz vor seiner Reise im 7. Jahrhundert entstehen lasst

Dieser zeitlichen Nachbarschaft der beiden Werke wurde die Annahme nur eines einzigen Autors entsprechen; und so reflektieren die Kommentare der *VāH*, in deren Kolophon sich der Verfasser als *Vāgbhata*, Sohn des *Simhagupta* bezeichnet Gegen Ende des *VāS* wird auffallig eingehend gesagt ,, Mein Vaters-Vater, dessen Namen ich trage, war der hervorragende Arzt *Vāgbhata* , sein Sohn war *Simhagupta*, von diesem stamme ich ab , in den Indus-Landen bin ich geboren Von dem wurdigen *Avalokita* und meinem wurdigereren Vater lernte ich —" (*Uttara-* = Bd 3, *480b* ' *bhisagvaro vāgbhata ity abhūn me pitāmaho nāmadharo 'smi yasya | suto 'bhavat tasya ca simhaguptas tasyā 'py aham sindhusu labdhajanmā || samadhigamya guror avalokitāt-gurutarāc ca pituh* —) Sachlich liegt demnach die Annahme der Werke einer Arztfamilie nahe Da andere Überlieferungen von einem alten (*vrddha*) *Vāgbhata* berichten, so werden jetzt im Allgemeinen zwei Verfasser mit dem selben Namen **angenommen** Nur Jolly verhalt sich gegenuber der Unterscheidung einer alteren und jungeren Autor-Person zuruckhaltend, weil die Bezeichnung *vrddha* sich nicht so selten **nur auf** den Lehrniederschlag bezieht Fur diese Ansicht **wurde** der Umstand sprechen, dass *Arunadatta* in seinem **Kommentar** zu *VāS*. *Śārīra-* 1, *5* den Schluss des Textes von

[1] **Csoma de Kőrös**, *JASB* 1835, *1* (cf auch Sarat Chandra Das, *JASB* **1881**, *224 ff*) Uber die Anwesenheit von Arzten in jener Zeit Laufer, *Die Bruza Sprache* (Sep) *46*

*VāS*, *Śārīra-* 1 (Bd. 1, *286a*) unter der Quellenangabe: *saṃgraha* zitiert und derselbe Beleg mit dem Verweis: *vṛddha-Vāgbhaṭa* von *Ḍallana* im Kommentar zu *SuS*, *Śārīra-* 2, *36* aufgeführt wird.[1]

In der nichtärztlichen Überlieferung, dem *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* des *Merutunga* (1306), taucht das Werk wieder auf, *Vāgbhaṭa* genannt (*vāgbhaṭanāmā*), welches sein Verfasser nach seinen eigenen Erfahrungen (*nijānubhūta* bzw. *°anubhūta*) schuf. Auffälligerweise werden daran anschliessend die Verfassernamen in Prākritform aufgeführt. Der Schwiegersohn, der junge *Bāhaḍa*, kam mit seinem Schwiegervater, dem alten *Bāhaḍa*, an den Königshof des *Bhoja*.[2] Die Unstimmigkeit bei der Entstehung der Lehre und bei den verwandtschaftlichen Beziehungen gegenüber der ärztlichen Tradition haben aber nicht die Bedeutung, wie der Versuch einer zeitlichen Bestimmung. Denn diese scheinbare Geschichtsdarstellung stellt eine Sammlung von Erzählungen und Anekdoten dar, welche sich um die Gestalt des berühmten Königs von *Dhārā* (11. Jahrhundert) ranken, „wobei der Verfasser vor keinem Anachronismus zurückschreckt."[3] Darauf weist bereits das Vorwort der Übersetzung von Tawney verschiedentlich hin, von welcher Cordier bei seiner Datierung der *Vāgbhaṭa* ausging. Die Berechnung von Huth verdient daher eine Bevorzugung.

[1] *Ḍallana* verfasste seinen Kommentar zur *SuS* etwa im 12. Jahrhundert, *Aruṇadatta* den seinem zur *VāH* im Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts. Die Zeitangaben entsprechen den Berechnungen von Hoernle, welcher die chronologische Seite der zahlreichen Kommentare der alten medizinischen Werke besonders eingehend bearbeitet hat. Seine Ergebnisse werden auch später benutzt, ohne auf Einzelheiten einzugehen.

[2] Edit. Rāmacandra Śāstrin, *314–5*: *tasya jāmātā 'pi laghubāhaḍaḥ svasurena bṛhad-bāhaḍena saha rājamandire prayātaḥ.*

[3] Winternitz, *Gesch. Ind. Litt.*, ii, *332*. Soweit die Medizin in Betracht kommt, erscheint der Palast des *Bhoja* als ein legendäres Sammelbecken. Dem König selbst wird eine ärztlich-schriftstellerische Liebhaberei zugeschrieben. Nach einem ähnlichen Geschichtswerk des 16. Jahrhunderts, dem *Bhoja-Prabandha* des *Ballāla* (Calcutta, 1872, *105*) trepanieren die beiden Götter-Ärzte *Aśvin* den Schädel des Königs wegen Kopfschmerzen; das Motiv ist wohl der bekannten *Jīvaka*-Legende entnommen.

Die Zeitfrage wird aber geklart durch die Anhaltspunkte in der arabischen Literatur, in welcher mittelbare oder unmittelbare Ubersetzungen indischer medizinischer Fachwerke auftauchen Aber gerade die Bestimmung von *Vāgbhaṭa* durch die arabische Bezeichnung *Asânkar*, *Asâtkar* u.a bot Hindernisse bei der Sicherung der Bezeichnung selbst und der Wahl unter *VāS* oder *VāH*[1] Erst die Beachtung des philosophisch-medizinischen Lehrbuches *Firdaus al-hikma* des *'Alī ibn Rabbān aṭ-Ṭabarī* (850) loste die Zeitfrage Im Kapitel 333 nennt dieser persische Arzt die Quelle *Aštānqahradī*,[2] deren Gleichheit mit der gebrauchlichen Abkurzung *Astāngahrdaya* wohl keiner weiteren Begrundung bedarf Nach dem analytischem Überblick scheint sich der Übersetzer nur auf einen Teil des *Sūtra* im *VāH* zu beschranken und in den Abschluss des Sonderteils auch andere Quellen verarbeitet zu haben, deren Behandlung uber das vorliegende Thema herausgeht[3] Die alteste Erwahnung des Titels *Aštānqahradī* (= *VāH*) um 850 beweist das Bestehen dieser Medizinlehre vor dem genannten Datum und unter Berucksichtigung der Angaben des *I-tsing* ist die Zeit des oder der *Vāgbhaṭa* in das 7 Jahrhundert zu setzen. Diese Berechnung kann — wie im folgenden gezeigt wird — als die gesichertste Zahl unter allen Uberlieferungen der altindischen Fachmedizin gelten

Als zweiter in der Reihe der drei alten Arzte gilt in der Überlieferung allgemein *Suśruta*, welcher als Sohn oder Nachkomme des vedischen Sangers *Viśvāmitra* angesprochen wird.[4] Sein Name erscheint nach dem Wortsinn gedeutet

[1] August Muller, *ZDMG* 34, *476* (das 12 Buch des *Ibn Abī Useibi'a*) Flügel, *ZDMG* 11, *151* *Asânkir*

[2] Meyerhof, *ZDMG* 1931, *64*

[3] Meyerhof, *Isis*, 1931, Separat *44–45*

[4] Der oft angefuhrte Beleg für die Abstammung des *Suśruta* von *Viśvāmitra* ist legendär im *Mahābhārata*, *Anuśāsana Parva*, 4, *55*. Winternitz, *Gesch d ind Litt*, i, *364*, beurteilt zudem das 13 Buch „Es trägt alle Spuren eines recht modernen Machwerkes an sich" Ähnlich ist im *Garuḍapurāṇa* (145, *43*) der Abschluss der genealogischen Legenden zu bewerten, vor dem Beginn der sogenannten *Dhanvantari-Saṃhitā* In

im *Bhāvaprakāśa* (S *8/9*), wo seine Lehre nach ihm *suśruta* = gut-gehort, d h. beruhmt genannt wird In diesem Wortspiel liegt aber wohl doch ein engerer Bezug zur Entstehung des Namens. Denn in ahnlicher Form, als *suśrota* (etwa: gelehrt), erscheint sein Name zu Beginn des 25. *Sūtra*-Kapitels der *Bhelasamhitā*[1] Und Hoernle raumt seiner Bezeichnung im Bower-Manuskript (BM) wiederholt die Art eines Epithets ein[2] Auch in ausserarztlicher Literatur, im *Daśakumāracarita*, wird unter den zahlreichen Namen mit Wortsinn ein Minister *Suśruta* mit seinem Sohne *Viśruta* erwahnt[3] Die Benennung des alten Arztes weist daher ein recht verwaschene Geprage fur einen bestimmten Eigennamen auf[4]

Aus dem BM hat nun Hoernle zwei Rezeptgruppen in Verbindung mit Textstellen der *SuS* gebracht und darnach die Kenntnis der *SuS* bei dem Verfasser des BM vorausgesetzt, da diese alte Handschrift schriftkritisch fur das 5 Jahrhundert einigermassen gesichert ist, so musste der Bestand der *SuS* einige Zeit zuvor annehmbar sein Die

der *SuS* selbst wird die angefuhrte Abstammung in *Cikitsā 2, 3* erwähnt, wobei der Textlaut von *Dallana* dahin nicht belegt ist, mit dieser Sicherung im Nachtrag *Uttara-* 18, *3* und 66, *4* Nach diesen Quellen kann die Genealogie nicht als geschichtlich und alt angesehen werden

[1] *Suśrotā nāma medhāvī cāndrabhāgam uvāca ha* |

[2] *JRAS* 1909, *883* und *Bibl Ind* fasc 911, *2* (Anm 3)

[3] Vgl Register zu der Ubersetzung Hertel, *Die zehn Prinzen*, Leipzig, 1922

In einer Inschrift aus *Kamboja*, auf einer Stele des Konigs *Yaśovarman* (also in einer Zeit, als die *SuS* auch in arabischen Ubersetzungen bekannt wurde) wird *Suśruta* erwahnt Veroffentlichung in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque nationale*, etc, xxvii/1, *319 ff* und *391 ff* (Paris, 1885) Text (*398*) 49 „ *suçrutoditayā vācā samudācārayā eko vaidyah paratrāpi prajāvyādhiñ jahāra yah* ||" Ubers Bergaigne (*406/7*) 49 „ Avec une parole qui était l'expression d'une science excellente [qui avait été prononcé par Suçruta], et dont l'essence était la sagesse, médecin unique en son gendre, il guerissait les maladies de ses sujets, même pour l'autre monde" Auch hier besteht eine deutliche Betonung des Wortsinnes von dem Namen *Suśruta*

[4] Vielleicht kann in *Suśruta* ein ähnlicher Deckname angenommen werden, wie ihn *Mādhava* (als Abkürzung von *Mādhavakara*) darstellt; letzterer wird von Hoernle (*JRAS* 1906, *288/9*) dem *Vṛnda* gleichgesetzt.

Übereinstimmung der angeblich entlehnten Rezepte im BM mit den Belegen aus der *SuS* ist jedoch so gering, dass nicht schlechtweg von Zitaten gesprochen werden kann, und wenn Hoernle glaubt, dass in BM eine zuverlassigere Textuberlieferung vorlage gegenuber der heutigen Form der *SuS*, so ist diese Annahme doch eine Hypothese, welche bei der Gleichung die Voraussetzung zum Beweis benutzt

Die eine Gruppe des BM ii, 407–8, 409–10, 411–12, wird auf *SuS, Uttara-* 40, *37b–38a*, *37a* und *47b* bezogen, wobei die Angleichung sich auf einige Aufzahlungen nicht gerade seltener Heilmittel beschrankt und zwar fur die Erkrankung *āma-atīsāra*, dem „Durchfall des Rohen" (*āma*, unverdaut) Die Krankheitsbezeichnung weist auf sehr alte physiologische Anschauungen [1] und bietet keine inhaltliche Einengung fur die *SuS* Die andere Gruppe, BM ii, 829–830*a*, 833*b*–84*a*, 834*b*–835*a* soll *SuS, Cikitsā-* 26, *30b–31a*, *23* und *24* ungefahr wiedergeben, sie betrifft Aphrodisiaca, also einen alten Gemeinplatz indischer Fursorge In beiden Fallen kommt nicht die chirurgische Eigenart der *SuS* zum Ausdruck Mit der selben oder sogar naher liegender Berechtigung kann gefolgert werden, dass in der *SuS* wie im BM in beiden Belegen altes Heilgut der Arzte Aufnahme gefunden hat, dass sich aber aus einem Vergleich weder eine Abhangigkeit noch Prioritat auf dieser oder jener Seite beweisen lasst

Die erste der zuvor angefuhrten Gruppen soll auf den Teil der *SuS* anspielen, welche als *Uttaratantra*, d h als Supplement, dem ursprunglichen Teil nachtraglich angegliedert wurde Einer solchen Sachlage entsprechen mehrfach Textstellen [2] Der Name des Arztes aber, welcher die alten

[1] Vgl *Die Medizin im Rg-Veda, 331, 334, 338* (Asia Major, 1930)

[2] In *SuS, Sūtra* 1, *39*, *40*, 3, *3*, *29a*, 4, *5* wird von den 120 *adhyāya* gesprochen, welche die 5 *sthana* des ersten Anteiles ausmachen (3, *3*), das *Uttaratantra* (1, *40*, 3, *29*) erscheint als Supplement abgesondert Auch das (5) *Kalpasthāna* schliesst den, ersten, hauptsachlichen Anteil mit einem Hinweis auf die 120 Kapitel ab (8, *140a*), worauf das *Uttaratantra* einleitend wieder anspielt (1, *3*), jedoch entgegen dem bisherigen Bezug auf die Lehren des *Dhanvantari* einen neuen Quellenautor, *Nimi*, den Konig von *Videha* (1, *5a*), wenigstens für die nächstfolgenden Kapitel (*śālākya-tantra*) anführt

Anteile ergänzt und mutmasslich das ganze Werk dabei zum ersten Mal überarbeitet hatte, ist nicht bekannt. Er wird allgemein als *Suśruta*, der Zweite, normiert und in mehr oder weniger deutlichen Zusammenhang mit *Nāgārjuna* gebracht, welch letzten *Dallana* in seinem Kommentar zu *Sūtra*-1, *1–2* in diesem Sinne erwahnt [1] Unter *Nāgārjuna* wurde der beruhmte buddhistische Lehrer aus dem (mutmasslich) 2. nachchr. Jahrhundert verstanden. Ausser religiosen Abhandlungen werden ihm unter anderen zahlreiche medizinische Werke zugesprochen Cordier weist bereits auf wenigstens zehn hin [2] Ihr Charakter, welcher zum gut Teil eine Art von Alchemie widerspiegelt, lasst sich jedoch schlecht mit dem hauptsachlichen Inhalt der *SuS* verbinden. Ein Bericht des *al-Bīrūnī* (um 1030), nach welchen ein Vertreter (der *Rasāyana*-Kunst) gleichen Namens im 10 Jahrhundert zu Daihak bei Somnāth gelebt hatte, hat zu einer kritischen Spaltung hinsichtlich der Person gefuhrt [3] Und in jungster Zeit werden in Indien sogar vier Personlichkeiten hierbei angenommen [4] Wird die Eigenart altindischer Geschichtsuberlieferung berucksichtigt, wie sie beispielsweis bei *Bhoja* zuvor (S 795) gestreift wurde, so lasst sich wohl eine legendare Vereinigung verschiedenen Materials um die Person des Lehrers des *Mādhyamika*-Systems verstehen Diese zeitliche Übertragung kann durch eine Übereinstimmung von Autoren-Namen erleichert worden sein, auch durch Aufnahme und Überlieferung medizinischer Belange durch den Buddhismus, welcher nach dieser Richtung lebhaften Anteil nahm

Diese erste nachweisbare Überarbeitung und Erganzung der *SuS* kann somit weder hinsichtlich ihres Verfassers

[1] Vgl auch Cordier, *Muséon*, 1903, *12–13*

[2] Vgl Cordier, *Nagarjuna*, etc , *2–3*

[3] Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, i, *189* (London, 1888)

[4] Sankara Menon, *Bhadanta Nagarjuna's Rasa Vaiseshika Sutra* (Trivandrum, 1929), Introduction *8* „ It is also seen, that there were in ancient days three or four Nagarjunas who were, curiously enough, all of them physicians and Buddhist Sanyasins "

noch hinsichtlich ihres Alters bestimmt werden. Als ihr imponierendes Moment, womit sie auch beginnt, erscheint die sogenannte kleine Chirurgie, hauptsachlich die der Augen, für welche gegenuber den vorlaufenden Lehren des *Dhanvantari* (bzw. des Konigs von *Kāśī*) ein neuer Quellenautor angegeben wird, [*Nimi*], der Konig von *Videha* Darnach kann — wenn auch nicht ohne einen gewissen ausseren Zwang — gefolgert werden, dass ursprunglich zwei Arten chirurgischer Überlieferungen vorgelegen haben Nach der technischen Seite konnen beide Traditionen in der sehr ausgebildeten Instrumentenlehre der *SuS*, *Sūtra-* 7–8 vereinigt worden sein. Bei den getrennten Anteilen in der *SuS* lasst sich aber inhaltlich schwerlich annehmen, dass im Rahmen der hervorstechenden Eigenart der *SuS* ein angeblich alterer Teil, die „ grosse " Chirurgie (*śalyatantra*) in grauer Vorzeit (nach Hoernle um 600 v Chr ) entstanden ware und uber ein halbes Jahrtausend auf seine Erganzung durch das *śālākyatantra* hatte warten mussen [1]

Die Chirurgie der Inder taucht in der *SuS*, ohne jeden wesentlichen Vorgang oder erkennbare stufenweise Entwicklung, in voller Ausbildung auf, zeigt in den weiteren Überarbeitungen in *VāS* und *VāS* keinen sachlichen Fortschritt und in spateren Zeiten sogar einen Verfall [2] Diese Beobachtung darf wohl dahin gedeutet werden, dass hier

[1] Gegen die hohe Datierung Hoernles wendet sich Keith in *ZDMG* 1908, *136*

[2] Im vorletzten Kapitel des *Bhāvaprakāśa* (*madhyakhaṇḍa*, S 189 *mūḍhagarbhasya cikitsā*) wird nicht mehr der Arzt als Geburtshelfer erwähnt, sondern die Frau (*nārī*), und zwar soll sie auch bei dem gefürchtetem Absterben des Kindes mit dem Messer (*śastra*) eingreifen — Die Berichte uber chirurgische Belange in weitester Bedeutung tragen bei den nordlichen und ostlichen Nachbarn der Inder einen sagenhaften Charakter, auch beispielsweis in der medizinischen Literatur der Chinesen, wie in der Lebensbeschreibung des chinesischen Arztes *Hoa T'ouo* (Übers v. Hübotter, *Mittlg d Deutsch Gsllsch f Ntr u Völkerkd Ostasiens, 32*, Tokyo, 1926) Immerhin mag, vielleicht unter einer mittelbaren Abhängigkeit von Indien, einmal Anteilnahme für Chirurgie bestanden haben, welche aber nicht bodenständig wurde (vgl *Die Krankheits- und Heilgottheiten des Lamaismus*, Anthropos, 1927, *978*, Anm 112).

Fremdgut in die indische Medizin Aufnahme gefunden hat. Einen Fingerzeig bietet vielleicht das *Awesta*, welches von Arzten spricht, welche mit dem Messer heilen, die vermutlich Griechen am persischen Konighof gewesen sind [1] Jedoch lassen die Texte der *SuS* und Folgen inhaltlich keine sicheren Nachweise einer Übertragung griechischer Chirurgie erkennen. Auch buddhistische Überlieferungen, welche verschiedentlich Beruhrungspunkte mit dem Westen durchschimmern lassen, helfen auf chirurgischen Gebiet nicht ausschlaggebend weiter. Mit dem Mangel eines gesicherten inhaltlichen Bezuges zu einer Umgebung versagt also auch nach dieser Richtung der Versuch zu einer zeitlichen Umgrenzung der alten *SuS*.

Der Mangel einer Bodenstandigkeit der Chirurgie macht es erklarlich, dass sich an die *SuS* ungewohnlich viele Ausfuhrungen kommentierenden Charakters anschlossen [2] *Dallana* baut gemass seinen Eingangsworten seine Erlauterungen allein auf denen von funf Vorgangern auf (*Jejjata*, *Gayadāsa*, *Bhāskara*, *Mādhava*, und *Brahmadeva*) und gibt diese Sachlage auch durch die Bezeichnung seines Kommentars (*Nibandha-Samgraha*) wieder [3] Nach Hoernle wurde

[1] *Yašt* 3, *6* und *Vendīdād* 7, *44*

[2] *Dallana*, etwa 12 Jahrhundert, sichert bekanntlich den gesamten Textbestand der *SuS*, da die *Bhānumatī* aus der Mitte des 11 Jahrhunderts von *Cakrapānidatta* nur bis Ende *SuS*, *Sūtra* reicht, die Hoffnung, dass die vollständige Handschrift der *Bhānumatī* aus einer Sammlung in Benares (Cordier, *Muséon*, 1903, *12*) noch gefunden wird, kann wohl begraben werden Uber andere Kommentare vgl Jolly, *ZDMG* 1904, *114–16*, 1906, *413–68*, Hoernle, *JRAS* 1906, *283–302*, *699–700*

[3] In der *SuS* ist natürlich nicht ausschliesslich die Chirurgie abgehandelt; in ihr ist auch vieles andere Material enthalten, was sich auch in anderen *Saṃhitās* findet und was sich zeitlich in ein hohes Alter zuruck verfolgen lässt Inhaltlich erscheint aber die Chirurgie in der *SuS* nicht nur vorherrschend, sondern sie wird auch zu Beginn (*Sūtra* 1, *7*, *8*) auffällig an erster Stelle genannt und anschliessend in ihrer Bedeutung betont Anderseits beschranken sich die kommentierenden Erläuterungen nicht ausschliesslich oder uberwiegend auf die chirurgischen Stellen, sondern erstrecken sich uber den ganzen Textbestand Man gewinnt aber doch den Eindruck, welcher oben wiedergegeben ist, dass die Besonderheit der *SuS* in ihrer chirurgischen Färbung die Häufigkeit der Erläuterungen hervorgerufen hat, welche bei keiner anderen Lehrsammlung der Medizin in diesem Ausmass nachweisbar ist

durch den Bezug zu *Mādhava*, dem bekannten Verfasser des *Nidāna*, welcher hochtwahrscheinlich *Vrnda* geheissen hat, und *Jejjata* als obere Grenze etwa das 7 Jahrhundert n.Chr erreicht werden Und wenn anerkannt wird, dass die chirurgischen Belange zu jener Steigerung der kommentierenden Tatigkeit beigetragen haben, so ist es wenig glaubhaft, dass die *SuS* bereits viele Jahrhunderte vorher bestanden hatte Die naheliegende Folgerung eines kurzfristigen Abstandes zu der Reihe der Kommentare wurde aber anderseits wieder der Beobachtung entsprechen, dass im BM die Bezeichnung *suśruta* lediglich als ein Beiwort und nicht als Personenname aufzufassen ist Weniger Bedeutung hat der Hinweis auf einen inhaltlichen Mangel des BM hinsichtlich eines chirurgischen Bezuges, da die betreffenden Teile der Handschrift der rezeptuellen Heilkunde dienen Der vorlaufende Überschlag eines Versuches zeitlicher Berechnung vermeidet absichtlich Stutzpunkte aus legendaren Überlieferungsmaterial Aber auch die Bemuhung mit rationell-sachlicher Wertung fuhrt in der schwierigen Bestimmung zeitlicher Umgrenzung der *SuS* zu keinen gesicherten Ergebnissen Es ist aber doch immerhin wahrscheinlich, dass die chirurgische *Samhitā* vor dem 7 Jahrhundert und nach dem BM enstanden ist [1]

Die Darstellungsart der *SuS* ist kurz, die der *Caraka-Samhitā* (*CaS*) dagegen ausfuhrlich, *SuS* fuhrt selten abweichende Lehrmeinungen an und dann in der Regel eingeschrankt auf anscheinend gleichzeitige Unstimmigkeiten *CaS* dagegen behandelt diese Vorgange breiter, nicht selten unter einer Art entwicklungsgeschichtlicher Ruckblicke Diese Sachlage mag dazu beigetragen haben, die *CaS* als alter

[1] An sich kommt hierbei nicht die Zeit der Niederschrift des BM in Betracht, sondern jene der Gultigkeit ihres Inhaltes Es ist aber kaum denkbar, dass im Randgebiet indischer Kultur und zu Heilzwecken die Nieder oder Abschrift erfolgt wäre im Gegensatz zu einer Sachlage originaler Art, bei welcher in Mutterlande Indien *Susruta* (bzw die *SuS*) so allgemein bekannt und geachtet gewesen ware, wie dies gegen Ende des ersten Jahrtausend nachweisbar ist

zu betrachten, wie dies in der bodenständigen Überlieferung geschieht Zur Bestimmung der Lebenszeit des *Caraka*, als Verfasser der *CaS*, ist eine Stelle der chinesischen Übersetzung (472 n Chr) des *Tripitaka* benutzt worden. Das indische Original dieses buddhistischen Werkes ist unbekannt. Hier kommt der beruhmte Arzt *Tsche-le* (= *Cara*, *Tsche-lo-kia* = *Caraka*) an den Hof des Konigs *Ki-ni-tsch'a* (= *Kaniska*), welch letzter im Buddhismus eine Rolle spielte und mutmasslich im 2 nachchrstl Jahrhundert gelebt hat Der Hohepunkt der arztlichen Leistung des *Tsche-le* wird nach der Übersetzung von Lévi [1] folgendermassen geschildert —

,, Peu de temps après, l'épouse favorite du roi s'aperçut, qu'elle était enceinte Au bout de dix mois, elle mit au monde un enfant mâle, qui était mort-né La mère était en danger de mort, car l'enfant se présentait renversé, comme il s'était retourné, la mère accouchait ainsi Alors Tsche-le introduisit sa main dans la matrice, dégagea l'enfant de son enveloppe, et le tira dehors La mère éprouva alors du repos et du bien-être " Der Arzt warnt den Konig vor neuer Cohabitation wegen Gefahr der gleichen Folgen,[2] welche dann auch eintreten ,, elle mit au monde un fils avec les mêmes douleurs qu'auparavant," und anscheinend unter derselben Encheirese des Arztes beendet werden, wenn auch dies nicht ausdrucklich gesagt wird Tsche-le verlasst darauf den Konig unter den sich ergebenden, buddhistisch gefarbten Beweggrunden

Bei der bisherigen Anerkennung des *Tsche-le* als Verfasser der *CaS* ist der Mangel jeglichen Bezuges zum Buddhismus im Text der *Samhitā* hinderlich Zum wenigsten hatte doch eine Anspielung buddhistischer Farbung gerade im dem *sthāna*, welche die Geburt behandelt, erwartet werden durfen

[1] ,, Notes sur les Indo-Scythes " *JA* 1896, *481*

[2] *Kautilya* zeigt in seinem *Arthaśāstra* 13 (edit Shama Sastry *33*, 15, Ubers J J Meyer *40*, 20), dass der Arzt des Konigs sich als ,, Kinderarzt " (*kaumārabhrtya*) bereits um die Schwangerschaft der Konigin zu kümmern hat

Auch hier besteht eine durchaus brahmanische Grundlage; sie ist nachtraglich in Richtung verschiedener philosophischer oder weltanschaulicher Systeme erweitert worden, bietet aber keinerlei Anhaltspunkte fur eine Beachtung des Buddhismus seitens des (oder der) Verfasser

Die medizinische Sachlage bedarf einiger Ausfuhrungen Zunachst muss nach dem Wortlaut der obigen Ubersetzung angenommen werden, dass das Kind der Konigin sich [selbst] dreht und darnach die Niederkunft [spontan] erfolgt Der Arzt *Tsche-le* scheint nach Abschluss der Geburt erst einzugreifen Diese sinnwidrige Storung durfte vielleicht dadurch veranlasst sein, dass der chinesische Übersetzer nicht Arzt war und die Sachlage unrichtig schilderte. Es konnte angenommen werden, dass der Sanskrittext ordnungsgemass den Geburtsakt durch Kunsthilfe des Artzes beendigen liess

Die weitere Frage lauft auf einen entsprechenden Nachweis dieser Kunsthilfe in der *CaS* hinaus Das *Śārīrasthāna*, sehr zusammengesetzt, behandet in einem wesentlichen, alten Anteil den Vorgang der Geburt, diese selbst und Weiterungen Es ist nun niemals bestritten worden, dass sich in den Texten der *CaS*, welche die eigentliche Niederkunft und ihre unmittelbaren Folgen betreffen, keinerlei Eingriffe erkennen lassen Wohl aber hat Jolly (*WZKM* 1897, *165*) den Nachweis der Operation des *Tsche-le* in *CaS*, *Śārīra-* 8, *30* erblickt, wenn er auch trotzdem darnach die Identitat des Leibarztes des Konigs *Kaniska* und des Verfassers der *CaS* fur zweifelhaft halt, im Gegensatz zu Lévi Wird dieser vereinzelte, beruhmte Beleg fur eine operative Geburtshilfe des *Caraka* naher untersucht, so kann es nicht zweifelhaft sein, dass diese Stelle — welche der Sachlage in allen ubrigen alten Anteilen der *CaS* widerspricht — nachtraglich eingeschoben worden ist [1] Das kann durch *Drdhabala* geschehen

[1] Die eigentliche Embryologie beginnt in *CaS*, *Śārīra-* 4, *9* mit dem 1 Monat und schliesst unter Einschuben mit dem 10 Monat in *25* Nach der pathologischen Seite der Schwangerschaft wird das Thema in *Śārīra-* 8 wieder aufgenommen, zumal betr Abort im 2–4 Monat (*24–25*), daran werden Regelwidrigkeiten angegliedert, wie ubertragene (*upacistaka*)

sein, welcher nach Hoernle im 8 oder 9 Jahrhundert eine Überarbeitung und Ergänzung vorgenommen hat und dabei nach seinen eigenen Angaben auch andere Quellen ausgenutzt hat (*Siddhi*- 12, 79) Zudem ist der Sachinhalt so zusammengesetzt aus Einzelheiten, dass er auch nach dieser Richtung hin nicht zum alleinigen Stutzpunkt der Verbindung mit der chinesischen Übersetzung gemacht werden kann.[1]

Schwangerschaft, der „ Schlangenbauch " (*nāga-udara*) Für den 8 Monat wird das Absterben des Embryo besprochen, dessen Diagnostik zusammengefasst wird 29 *mṛta garbham iti vidyāt* Hier konnte nun eine Behandlung zum eingeengten Vorgang erwartet werden Diese erfolgt aber nicht, sondern der Einschub, welcher nachfolgend besprochen wird Auch eine kurze Zusammenfassung fur den 2 -7 Monat kann noch als nachträglicher Zusatz oder Vorsatz angesprochen werden zur Ruckkehr zum Thema betr 8 bzw 9 Monat Es folgen dann die Vorbereitungen beim Abschluss der Schwangerschaft (Wochnerinhutte, 32 *sūtikāgāra*, vgl *Arch Geschichte d Medizin*, 1928, 233 *ff* ) und die Erorterungen uber die Niederkunft selbst und ihre Folgen (ab 34)

[1] Jolly lasst nach Absterben des Embryo folgende „ drei verschiedenen Verfahrungsarten anwenden „ 1 ein Verfahren zur Loslosung des Fotus von dem Mutterkuchen (Abortivmittel), 2 Besprechungen und andere im Atharvaveda vorgeschrieben Ceremonien, 3 Herausziehen des Fotus durch einen erfahrenen Operateur " Der Text lautet *tasya garbhaśalyasya jarāyu pātana - karma saṃśamanam ityeke | mantrādi-karma atharvaveda vihitam ityeke | paridṛṣṭa-karmanā śalyahartrā haranam ityeke |* Jolly ubersetzt *jarāyu* durch Mutterkuchen und kann sich dabei auf die Bedeutung in den Veden und ihren Folgen stutzen In *CaS*, *Śārīra*- 8, 30 ist die „ Eihaut " als *pars pro toto* aufzufassen Das ergibt sich aus der Satzkonstruktion *jarāyu* ist Nominativ, *śalyasya* der von diesem Subjekt abhängige Genitiv Auch der Textinhalt spricht in gleicher Richtung Die alten Arzte der *Saṃhitā* unterscheiden bereits Lebewesen (*-ja*) aus der Eihaut und eine solche aus dem Ei, im Sinn der Eischale (*anda*), wie dies aus *CaS*, *Śārīra*- 3, 12, 13, 24 hervorgeht (vgl *SuS*, *Sūtra*- 1, 22 u 30, bis zu einem gewissen Grade auch *Śārīra*- 2, 54) Wie z B beim Vogelei nicht mur die Schale sondern auch der Inhalt einbegriffen ist, so muss oben unter *garbhaśalyasya jarāyu* als Gesamtfrucht — in unentwickeltem Stadium — aufgefasst werden, von welcher das Mittel zur Befreiung (Beruhigung *saṃśamana*) eine Ausstossung (*pātana*) ist, sobald sie krank geworden ist oder Schmerzen macht (nach dieser Bedeutungsrichtung weist *śalya*-) Unter zwei werden Spruche u s w aus dem *Atharvaveda* angewandt, ein alterprobtes Heilmittel bei der Geburt selbst Und schliesslich wird noch die Entfernung durch einen erfahrenen Chirurgen angeraten, welcher noch durch den alten Namen Pfeilzieher (*śalya-hartar*) umschrieben wird, ein Ausdruck, welcher im Gegensatz zu dem wissenschaftlich-gebildetem Arzt zu stehen scheint Es kann nun wohl nicht zweifelhaft sein, dass der Vorgang des Absterbens des Embryo

Die Ausfuhrung der Begrundung ist der Übersicht wegen in die beiden vorlaufenden Anmerkungen verlegt worden. Dazu kommen noch Zweifel, ob die Sachlage nach Lévi uberhaupt richtig wiedergegeben worden ist in Hinblick auf Schwierigkeiten der Übersetzung eines chinesischen Textes, welcher sich mutmasslich an den unbekannten originalen Sanskrittext eng anlehnt und ein Fachgebiet behandelt Wedemeyer ubersetzt ,, Als (die) zehn Monate voll waren gebar sie ein mannliches Kind , es war schon vorher tot und kam verkehrt aus dem Mutterleibe Seine Mutter litt bittere Schmerzen [und] ihr Leben war in Gefahr , als [sie] sich infolgedessen herumwalzte, erfolgte plotzlich die Geburt solchermassen Darauf fuhrte Cheloh seine Hand in den Mutterleib, er loste die Nachgeburt und danach kam [diese] dann heraus "[1] Aus dieser kritischen Stellungsnahme geht

den Einschub im *CaS* hier ausserlich ausgelost hat Es ist jedoch en bloc eine grossere Ausfuhrung eingeschleppt worden Denn die oben genannten drei Heilmassnahmen stehen in einer inhaltlichen Abhangigkeit zu den drei folgenden diagnostischen Bezugen fur den Embryo 1 *āma garbha* rohe (ungekochte, unentwickelte) Frucht, 2 *paripakka garbha* = umkochte (ausgereifte) Frucht, 3 *vimukta-garbha* = ausgeloste Frucht Es ist darnach moglich, dass bei 3 die operative Massnahme sich garnicht auf das Kind, sondern auf die Nachgeburt erstreckt Dafur besteht aber nicht mehr ein Fachausdruck *jarāyu* sondern *aparā* in *CaS*, *Śārīra*- 8, *41–42* (ebenso in *SuS*, *Śārīra*- 10, *21* und *Cikitsa* 15, *17*) Endlich kommt noch dazu, dass der Textbestand fur *CaS* hier nicht durch die alte Kommentierung seitens *Cakrapāṇidatta* gesichert wird Allgemein ist noch eine Eigenart der *CaS* zu berucksichtigen, dass bei mehrfachen Lehrmeinungen u a in der Regel eine abschliessende und gultige Stellung eingenommen wird, welche einer Autoritat, oft dem *Ātreya*, in den Mund gelegt wird Wenn also nach Jolly hier drei verschiedene Verfahren angefuhrt werden, darunter ein chirurgisches, was sonst in der *CaS* unbekannt ist, so musste auch hier eine derartige Beurteilung erwartet werden Das ist nicht der Fall Im Gegenteil konnte eine allgemeine Ablehnung aus dem Munde des *Ātreya* konstruiert werden, wenn der unmittelbar folgende Text in denselben Einschub eingegriffen wird (was allerdings aus inhaltlichen Gründen unwahrscheinlich ist)

[1] Infolge einer Reihe von Hindernissen traf die erbetene sinologische Beratung erst nach Abschluss des Manuskriptes ein, wurde aber wegen ihrer Bedeutung nachtraglich eingeschoben Der transkribierte Text lautet *man tsuh shi yüeh sheng yih nan erh sien i ming chung tsung t'ai ch'uh ch'i mu k'u tung sing ming wei cho tsung hou chan chuan sheng chêh*

(ausser anderem) hervor, dass der Arzt lediglich die Nachgeburt entfernte, nachdem das Kind spontan geboren war [1] Wenn

*ju shi erh shi che-loh ju shou t'ai chung kiê ch'i erh i jan hoü nai ch'uh* Bei der umfassenden Bezeichnung *t'ai* kann die Übersetzung „Uterus" erst spät zugelassen werden, es müsste dann aber ein Kompositum, die Beifügung eines determinativen Schriftzeichens (wie etwa Fleisch), erwartet werden Nach Ansicht d Verf liegt hier also eine begriffliche Parallele mit dem Sanskritwort *garbha* vor — *Tao* (im 4 Ton) = umkehren, umgekehrt etc heisst in der Belegstelle zweifellos kommt „umgekehrt" heraus Hinter diesen Worten ist ein Gedankenabsatz anzunehmen, das folgende ist die nähere Schilderung des Ablaufes — Schwierig ist die Erklärung der Bedeutung des Halbsatzes *tsung hou chan chuan* Die nächstliegende Übersetzung für *tsung hou* wäre „von hinten", *hou* kann auch „Geschlechtsteil" bedeuten, demnach „aus der Scheide" Das Kompositum *chan-chuan* hat Bedeutungen wie „drehende Bewegung, immer wieder, hin und her, walzen (z B Gedanken)", was auf die Mutter zu beziehen wäre Diese ist im vorhergehenden Halbsatz logisches, und in dem nochmals vorhergehenden Halbsatz das grammatisches Subjekt In diesem Zusammenhang macht die Bedeutung von *tsung hou* Schwierigkeiten Mit Rücksicht auf die temporal-konditionale Abhängigkeit des Halbsatzes wäre zu übersetzen als sie sich „daraufhin" wälzte, da erfolgte plötzlich die Geburt solchermassen *Ju-shi* (solchermassen) bezieht sich wohl auf *tao ch'uh* (kommt verkehrt heraus), und kann ausdrücken ehe das Kind in die normale Richtung zurückgekehrt war Das *ch'uh* zum Schluss ist intransitiv zu verstehen Zu der Stellung der Kreissenden trägt Verf nach die zugänglichen Schilderungen chinesischer Überlieferung (Hubotter, *Shou shi pien*, Rehmann, *Zwey chinesische Abhandlungen über die Geburtshilfe*) reichen nicht in jene alten Zeiten als sichere Quellen hinauf In *CaS*, *Śārīra*- 8, *36–37* ist eine Bettlage bei der Niederkunft anzunehme, *SuS*, *Śārīra*- 10, *8* und *Cikitsā*- 15, *9* schreibt deutlich eine Rückenlagerung vor Die ursprüngliche und volkstümliche Stellung der Kreissenden wird aber wahrscheinlich eine hockende gewesen sein (vgl *Arch Gesch d Medizin*, 1928, *242 ff* u *268*, Anm 2, *Asia Major*, 1930, *342*) Auf den tibetischen Lebensrädern (*bhava cakra*) findet sich zuweilen eine Geburtsdarstellung, bei welcher sich die Mutter in der Schmerzsteigerung beim Durchschneiden des Kindes von ihrem Bett erhebt und in einer Stellung wie ein werfendes Vieh entbindet, das Kind wird somit von hinten in dem üblichen Tuch (oder Netz) aufgefangen An diesen Vorgang kann bei der obigen chinesischen Übersetzung gedacht werden, welche indische Verhältnisse schildert

[1] Eine Gefahr bei der Geburt eines umgedrehten Kindes (modern in Steiss- etc Lage) besteht in der Regel nicht für die Mutter, sondern für ihre Leibesfrucht, weil letzte meist ohne Hilfe dabei abstirbt Um dieser Gefährdung vorzubeugen, erfolgt zur geeigneten Zeit modern die Extraktion Davon ist aber in der chinesischen Übersetzung mit keinem Wort die Rede, auch nicht in den wahrscheinlich späteren Texten der *SuS* Der Leibarzt des Königs löst nur die Nachgeburt Bei der Kinds-Hülle (*erh-i*,

schon vorher ein Zusammenhang zwischen dem chinesischen Bericht und den Texten der *CaS* in hohen Grade unwahrscheinlich war, so ermangelt die Ausfuhrung durch Wedemeyer im gleichem Masse eines Zusammenhanges, welcher fur eine Gleichung *Tsche-le* mit *Caraka* zu verwenden ware

Der indische Grammatiker *Bhartrhari*, welcher nach den Angaben von *I-tsing* 651 oder 652 starb,[1] erwahnt dreimal *Caraka* wohl als Arzt[2] Da jedoch *Caraka* als ein Familienname betrachtet werden muss, so lasst sich auf eine so unbestimmte Nennung hin nicht die Person des angeblichen Verfassers der *CaS* zeitlich sichern In dieser Hinsicht ist erst recht nicht seine Nennung zu verwerten, die aus sprachwissenschaftlichen Grunden *Pānini* (iv, 1, *105*; 3, *107*) bietet, es werden hier Ableitungen von Namen vorgebracht, welche dem vedischen Kreis entstammen, darunter auch die des *Agniveśa*, welch letzter u a auch in anderen sprachlichen Erlauterungen der Veden (*Prātiśākhya*) erwahnt wird Der Name *Caraka* vertritt bekanntlich auch eine Schule des schwarzen *Yajurveda*, deren Texte sich nicht erhalten haben. Derartige Verbindungen, welche sich noch erweitern liessen, legen nahe, dass Namen aus den vedischen Kreisen mit oder ohne besonderen Anlass in die Medizin ad majorem gloriam ubertragen sein konnen, vielleicht auch vereinzelt rucklaufig[3] Es ware verstandlich, dass derartige Ergebnisse von den

identisch mit *t'ai i*) entspricht also i der Sanskrit-Bezeichnung *jarāyu*, dem altesten Ausdruck, mit seinem Bezug zum Vieh Es scheint, dass Storungen des Abganges der Eihaute (einschliesslich der Placenta) die frühesten Hilfsmassnahmen bedingt haben Sie bestanden anfangs in den gebrauchlichen Heilliedern, wie dies beispielsweis der *Atharvaveda* i, *11* zeigt Daneben, sicherlich später, hat aber der Heilende am Nabelstrang gezogen oder an diesem hinauf nach der mehr oder weniger gelosten Placenta gegriffen Auf dieser empirischen Basis durfte sich eine Entwicklung der entsprechenden Encheirese vollzogen haben, deren bewusste Technik in der chinesischen Ubersetzung nicht gesichert erscheint

[1] Takakusu, l c, *180*

[2] Kielhorn, *IA* 1883, *227* „ Bhartrhari also mentions and quotes three times from the *Vaidyaka* and Charaka "

[3] Vgl hierzu Cordier, *Muséon*, 1905, *10*

bodenstandigen Überlieferungen angenommen, erhartet und darnach als Tatsachen weitergetragen wurden.

Wenn zur Stutze geschichtlicher Kritik wiederum das BM benutzt wird, so hat hierbei Hoernle eine Verbindung von 29 Rezepten zur *CaS* nachgewiesen, und zwar samtlich zu dem alten Anteil des *Cikitsāsthāna* [1] In der alten Handschrift fehlen nun leider Blatter (20 u 21), welche mutmasslich in einem Kolophon uber die Art und Autorschaft Auskunft geben konnten Immerhin ist die Übereinstimmung zwischen BM und *CaS* eine beiweitem engere und haufigere, als dies zur *SuS* der Fall ist Das muss aber nicht uberraschen Denn die *CaS* vertritt eine Richtung, welche nach moderner Nomenclatur als innere Medizin bezeichnet werden musste, daher einen breiten Raum einer entsprechenden Heilkunde bietet und somit von vornherein viele Beruhrungspunkte mit der alten Handschrift gleicher Richtung. Die Beachtung einer allgemeinen Grundlage ist hier naheliegend, welche Hoernle selbst als „ floating medical tradition " wiederholt einraumt. Und ein Beispiel, welches Hoernle fur die Übernahme aus der *CaS* in das BM anfuhrt, beleuchtet diesen Gemeinplatz, der *Cyavana-prāśa,* welcher — wenn auch anfanglich anderer Form — unter verbreiteter Kenntnis, vom *Rgveda* bis in die moderne bodenstandige Therapie erhalten geblieben ist Die Übereinstimmung zwischen BM und *CaS* ist zahlenmassig gegenuber anderen Überlieferungen nach Hoernle zwar die hochste, namlich in 29 Fallen Jolly hat jedoch fast sechzigmal solche zwischen BM und dem *Siddhiyoga* nachgewiesen

Die Frage der Abhangigkeit des BM von der *CaS* ware anders zu beantworten, oder der Bestand der alten *SaS* ware durch das BM gesicherter, wenn in der alten Handschrift

[1] Hoernle (*JASB* 1897, *297, 279*) sieht auch in Macartney-Manuskript *23a, 2* eine Entlehnung aus *CaS, Sūtra* 15, *19,* welche sich trotz abweichenden Textes auf die Erwahnung des seltenen Wortes *rājamātra* allein stutzt Auch diese Stutze auf das Einzelwort hin ist von Cordier (*Muséon,* 1903, *22-23*) erschuttert worden durch den Nachweis vieler weiterer Belege, auch ausserhalb der *CaS*

auch nur einmal der Name *Caraka* erwahnt wurde Dieser Mangel ware sehr auffallig, wenn die Annahme des Alters der alten *Samhitā* und ihr Ansehen zurecht besteht Denn das BM nennt verschiedene alte Autoren, aber nicht einmal *Agniveśa*, welchen die *CaS* immerwieder als besonderen Quellenautor namhaft macht *Ātreya* wird im BM aufgefuhrt Der Sohn (oder Nachkomme) des *Atri* dient zwar als Ausgangspunkt verschiedener Überlieferungen, immerhin bildet die *CaS* die bekannteste Vermittlerin seines Systems Im BM werden nun 6 Rezepte des *Ātreya* vorgebracht, und keines dieser findet sich in den uberlieferten Texten der *CaS*

Nach diesen Untersuchungen ist im BM weder der Form noch dem Inhalt nach eine gesicherte Kenntnis der *CaS* nachweisbar, und es ergibt sich zwanglos der Schluss, dass die *CaS* in ihrer grossen Bedeutung damals noch nicht bestanden hat Die Zeit der Niederschrift des BM im 5 Jahrhundert kann als gesichert gelten, die seiner Abfassung ist unbestimmt, lasst sich aber nicht allgemein in ein graues Altertum verlegen Denn gerade an den Verkehrsstrassen und bei dem gesteigerten Interesse der buddhistischen Kloster fur medizinische Entwicklung durfte der Inhalt des BM nicht allzusehr von den geltenden arztlichen Ansichten am Ende der ersten Halfte des 1 Jahrtausend abweichen Die andere, eigene Frage nach der Entstehungzeit der *CaS* beruhrt die Überarbeitung des ursprunglichen Werkes durch *Drdhabala*, etwa im 9 Jahrhundert Es konnte angenommen werden, dass jener Arzt aus Kaschmir eine unbedeutende *Samhitā* als Grundlage benutzt hatte Einer solchen Sachlage wurde die immer wiederkehrende Erwahnung des *Caraka* als Quellenautor und die Benennung des Gesamtwerkes als *CaS* widersprechen Es ist aber auch hier nicht wahrscheinlich, dass dieser *Caraka* im 2 Jahrhundert sein Werk verfasst hatte, und dass jenes in nicht unwesentlichen Anteilen uber einhalb Jahrtausend auf seine Vollendung durch *Drdhabala* hatte warten mussen

Bisher ist zeitlich der Name des Autors der grossen

medizinischen Sammelwerke beurteilt worden, nicht die Bezeichnung *samhitā* Dieser Ausdruck ist nicht auf medizinisches Gebiet eingeengt, bezeichnet vielmehr ein grosseres Sammelwerk verschiedener wissenschaftlicher u s.w. Überlieferungen und Lehren Nach bodenstandiger Sprachauffassung (Hemacandra, *Anekārtha-samgraha*, cit n PW ) ist *samhitā* synonym mit *tantra*, *śāstra*, ahnlich dem *samgraha*. Die inhaltliche Bedeutung der letzten Bezeichnung (von Hoernle (*JRAS* 1906, *284*) bei dem *SuS*-Kommentar *Nibandha-samgraha* als ,, Summary of Compilations " nachgewiesen) musste formell in *VāS* eigentlich aus der Klasse der *Samhitā* ausscheiden Hauptsachlich fur die *SuS* hat ferner Hoernle nachgewiesen, dass unter *tantra* eine Vorstufe der *samhitā* in der Entwicklung der Lehrsammlungen zu verstehen ist, womit die beiden Anteile — das altere, *Sauśruta-tantra* und *Uttara-tantra* — vor ihrer redaktionellen Vereinigung zur *SuS* bezeichnet wurden

Zum Abschluss der *CaS* (*Siddhi*- 12, *76–90*) wird der Ausdruck *tantra* in diesem Sinne immer wieder gebraucht Ahnlich unterscheiden die Schlussworte der einzelnen Kapitel (*adhyāya*) in der ersten Halfte der *CaS* den Ort der alteren Quelle des *Agniveśa* (*Agniveśa-krte tantre*) und die spatere Überarbeitung (*Caraka-pratisamskrte*) [1] In der zweiten Halfte der *CaS*, welche auch andere Quellen aufgenommen hat, wird die Ortsangabe des Vorganges regelmassig allein in *Caraka-samhitāyām* zusammengefasst [2] Wie weit diese Anfuhrungen inhaltlich im Einzelfall berechtigt sind, kann hier unerortert bleiben, denn die Bezeichnungen sollen offensichtlich nicht eine sachliche Entwicklungstufe ausdrucken Das zeigt beispielsweis das *Uttara-tantra* der *SuS*, welches gewohnlich als eine Abhandlung uber die sogenannte kleine Chirurgie

[1] Die stereotype Abschlussformel findet sich im *Sūtra-*, *Nidāna-*, *Vimāna-*, *Śārīra-* und *Cikitsā-* 1, 2 (versprengt in 27–30), sowie im Kolophon des Gesamtwerkes

[2] Im Rest des *Cikitsā-*, *Kalpa-* und *Siddhi-* Die *SuS* braucht regelmässig als Angabe ihres Quellenortes *Suśruta-samhitāyam*

**hingestellt** wird Tatsachlich besteht es seinerseits aus vier *tantra*, nämlich ausser dem *śālākya-* noch aus dem *kumāra-*, *kāya-cikitsā-* und *bhūta-vidyā-tantra*, also im Ganzen aus einer Halfte des alten *Āyurveda* (*SuS Sūtra-* 3, 44) Die Bedeutung der Bezeichnung *tantra* ist somit eine umfassende, welche sich aber auf die Bestimmung der Form beschrankt und mit dem *sūtra* zu vergleichen ist [1]

Den Inhalt arztlicher Lehren bezeichnen die Überlieferungen oft durch *śāstra* Zur Klarung des Begriffes dieses Ausdruckes wird die Textstelle in der *CaS* herangezogen, welche vom Studium der Medizin handelt und alte Verhaltnisse wiederspiegelt [2] Wer Arzt werden will, soll sich vorallem zuerst nach einem *śāstra* umsehen , denn es sind verschiedene *śāstra* von Arzten in der Welt im Umlauf (*Vimāna-* 8, *3*) [3] Dieses *śāstra* erscheint im folgenden als Teil des Lehrers (*ācārya*), hat daher die ursprungliche Bedeutung des Befehls

[1] In den Kolophonen des *Sūtra-sthāna* der *CaS* wird das *sūtra* regel mässig *sloka*, das eigentliche Versmass der epischen Dichtung, genannt Das *Sūtrasthāna* wird gebräuchlich inhaltlich als Lehrsatze von prinzipielle Bedeutung — etwa im Sinne einer Propadeutik — aufgefasst Die Benennung *śloka* weist zum mindesten auf die grundlegende Anschauung und Wertung Das *Sūtrasthāna* der *CaS* umfasst 7 (bzw rudimentár 8) Abhandlungen in je vier *adhyāya* sehr verschiedenartigen Materials, die einzeln und in ihrer Vereinigung wohl als *tantra* betrachtet werden konnen Die oben beanstandete unrichtige Wertung fur *sūtra* entspringt einem modernen Gesichtswinkel, aus welchem heraus auch die Anfuhrung von Autorennamen nicht ganz in der alten Eigenart immer verstanden wurde Es ist sehr beachtlich, wenn bei dem beruhmten *Agniveśa*, welcher ausserordentlich haufig in der *CaS* genannt wird, zum Schluss (*Siddhi-* 12, *93*) der Namensanteil *agni* durch das gleichbedeutende Wort *vahni* ausgetauscht wird, so dass der Name *Vahniveśa* ensteht Und wenn der hauptsächliche Medizinlehrer *Ātreya* in sieben Formen angefuhrt wird (Cordier, *Origines*, *81*), so beweisen solche Beobachtungen, wie wenig festumrissene geschichtliche Personen hier in den alten Anschauungen bestehen, und dass manche Momente in den Namen mitschwangen, welche nur aus einem modernen Gesichtwinkel als nebensachlich erscheinen

[2] Die Textstelle ist deshalb alt, weil sie in den anderen alten Uberlieferungen nicht nur Parallelen besitzt, sondern auch darum, weil sie dem Autor — wahrscheinlich *Dṛḍhabala* — zum Sprungbrett dient, um seine sehr ausfuhrlichen Lehren fur den ärztlichen Redekampf anzubringen

[3] *bhiṣag bubhūṣuḥ śāstram eva āditaḥ parīkṣeta | vividhāni hi śāstrāṇi bhiṣajāṃ pracaranti loke*

oder der Anordnung und kann daher nicht schlechtweg als Lehrbuch betrachtet werden. Bei den drei Arten von Schulern werden in *CaS* auch nicht die drei oberen Kasten genannt, sondern notwendige Eigenschaften fur den mundlichen Verkehr hervorgehoben.[1] Wird endlich noch berucksichtigt, dass die Einfuhrung des Schulers in allen Überlieferungen der des brahmanischen Religiosen nachgebildet ist, so geht darauf insgesamt hervor, dass unter *śāstra* hier die mundlichen Lehren zu verstehen sind (cf *SuS*, *Sūtra-* 3, 54)

Dieser Vorgang erklart, warum auffalligerweise (zum wenigsten) von *Drdhabala* zum Studium nicht die *CaS* selbst empfohlen wird, weil das Bewahren des *śāstra* Sache des Gedachtnisses war, nach dieser Richtung hatte die *CaS* auch fur den Inder kaum erfullbare Forderungen bei ihrem Umfang gestellt Da aber in den Kolophonen stets hier das Überarbeiten (*pratisamskar-*) des ursprunglichen *tantra* erwahnt wird, so notigt die Sachlage zur Annahme, das der Ausdruck *samhitā* in dem arztlichen Sprachgebrauch noch nicht ganz gebrauchlich war In dieser Weise wurde sich auch die Verwendung von *samgraha* in jener Zeit bei dem *VāS* beurteilen lassen Gegen die Neige des ersten Jahrtausend entstanden noch Sonderabhandlungen der arztlich wichtigsten Facher — wie *Nidāna* und *Siddhayoga* des *Vrnda* (etwa um 800, vor *Drdhabala*) — welche grosses Ansehen erwarben und (wenn auch nicht ausdrucklich belegbar) die oben abgeleitete Form der *tantra* besitzen Gegenuber diesen besonderen oder inhaltlich eingeengten Gebieten stellt die *samhitā* eine umfassende Sammlung arztlichen Wissens dar, welche sich auch auf Nebengebiete erstreckt oder diese beruhrt. Handschriftlich ist der Name *samhitā* zuerst etwa im 9 Jahrhundert

[1] Der Sonderabschnitt von den Eigenschaften des Schülers beginnt erst *Vimāna-* 8, 9, wobei auch hier Anforderungen an die Fähigkeiten des Gedächtnisses bzw des Rezitierens vorangesetzt sind Die Schuler der 3 Kasten werden *SuS*, *Sūtra-* 2, 5 angefuhrt, wo merkwurdigerweise — und zwar bereits in dem Kommentar *Nibandhasamgraha* — auch die 4 niederste Kaste (der *Śūdra*) unter gewissen Vorbedingungen als zugelassen gilt.

**nachweisbar.**[1] Über die stufenweise Entwicklung gibt am **besten** wohl die *CaS* Auskunft Die erste Anfange sind im ***Sūtra*** erkennbar, welches im Ganzen in das *tantra* des *Agniveśa* **übernommen** wurde, weil sachliche Wiederholungen bestehen **Die** Überarbeitung durch *Caraka* hat zweifellos jenes *tantra* **erweitert** und in noch hoherem Grade hat eine Sammlung aller einschlagigen Gebiete durch *Drdhabala* stattgehabt mit dem Ergebnis der *samhitā* Die Zeit des Ablaufes dieser sachlichen Entwicklung lasst sich schwer schatzen, dazu bedurfte es vieler Einzeluntersuchungen, sie muss jedoch nicht viele Jahrhunderte betragen haben, sie durfte auch bei hauptsachlichen, erhaltenen Beispielen, der *CaS* und *SuS*, nicht durch allzu grosse Zwischenzeiten getrennt sein, weil der Hohepunkt in der Vereinigung aller arztlicher wissenschaftlichen Belange — wie er in den *samhitā* vorliegt — trotz inhaltlicher Unterschiede nicht zu verschiedenen Epochen **annehmbar** ist Werden somit die Gesamtergebnisse der vorliegenden Untersuchung zusammengefasst, so folgt, dass die drei grossen alten Lehrsammlungen, welche unter den Namen *Caraka*, *Suśruta* (und *Vāgbhata*) uberliefert wurden, gegen die Mitte des zweiten Halbjahrtausend n Chr entstanden sind (vor 700)



[1] ***Aus Indiens Kultur***, Festgabe Richard von Garbe, Luders, *Medizinische Sanskrittexte aus Turkistan, 151* „*bhedasamghitāyān*", es handelt sich in dieser Textstelle um den Kolophon des *Nidānasthāna* der ***Bhelasamhitā***, welche sonst nur in einer Handschrift um 1650 erhalten und niemals von fachindologischer Seite als apokryph bewertet worden ist

# The *Ta'rīkh al-islām* of adh-Dhahabī

By JOSEPH DE SOMOGYI

## Introduction

IN Arabic literature there is hardly any separation between works on political history and historical biography. This is due to the two sources from which historical traditions are derived the *sīra*-literature dealing with the life of the prophet Muhammad and the rather legendary traditions on the tribal warfare of the *jāhiliyya* known as *ayyām al-'arab* [1] It was on this double basis that Arabic historiography had gradually been built up On the one hand, parallel to the *sīra*-literature, there developed the so-called *tabaqāt*-literature containing biographies first on the companions of Muhammad (*'ilm ar-rijāl*), then on all sorts of illustrious men arranged into classes (*tabaqāt*) according to the year of their death The *Kitāb at-tabaqāt al-kabīr* of Ibn Sa'd az-Zuhrī (died in 230/845) was the first standard work of this kind of literature, which flourished especially in the post-classical period of Arabic literature in the increasing quantity of *tabaqāt*-works on rulers, theologians, jurisconsults, and poets

But parallel to this biographical literature there developed a historical literature *stricto sensu* treating of the struggles of Islām and the history of the caliphate Originated in the works on the *ayyām al-'arab*, it dealt with the first wars of Islām the *maghāzī* and the rapid conquests of the new faith The prototype of this literature on political history is the *Kitāb al-maghāzī* of al-Wāqidī (died in 207/823), but its real standard work was created by at-Ṭabarī (died in 310/923), whose *Ta'rīkh ar-rusul wal-mulūk* has ever since been considered by all the later historians as a pattern and a reliable source as well

[1] A good survey of the *ayyām al-'arab* is given by Ibn al-Athīr in his *Kāmil*, vol i, pp 367–517, and by an-Nuwayrī in his *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab, fann* V, *qism* IV, *kitāb* V

But even in the post-classical period of Arabic historiography there had been no strict separation between political history and historical biography The biographical element has pervaded the political history through all the stages of its development This is clearly seen not only from the exterior arrangement of these works, which were divided into chapters relative to the rulers, whilst also retaining the annalistic form, but also from their subject-matter, which is hardly anything else but the history of rulers This is conspicuous in works both on the history of cities or provinces and on dynastic or general history Such works as the *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* of al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī (died in 403/1071) or the *Ta'rīkh madīna Dimashq* of Ibn 'Asākir (died in 571/1176) or the *Kitāb buqyat at-tālib fī ta'rīkh Halab* of Ibn al-'Adīm (died in 660/1262) are in the strict sense of the word rather biographical collections than historical works And one can hardly decide whether the *Bayān al-Maghrib* of Ibn al-'Adhārī (lived in the fourth century A H ) and many other works on Spanish and Maghribian history would not be better ranked among the biographical works than among those on political history Again, in the works dealing with the history of dynasties or single rulers written in a panegyric style the predominance of the biographical element is manifest, as in the *Al-kitāb al-Yamīnī* of al-'Utbī (died in 427/1036) or in the *Kitāb ar-raudatayn fī akhbār ad-daulatayn* of Abū Shāma (died in 665/1268)

From the beginning of the fifth century A H onwards, a compilatory activity can be perceived in all branches of Muslim science A wellnigh endless variety of compendiums and concise text-books and lexica are written on philology, history, and religious and natural science as well This activity manifests itself both in political history and in biography In political history the necessity of both the continuation and the abbreviation of at-Tabarī's work called into existence a host of voluminous compilations, as the *Al-kāmil fit-ta'rīkh* of Ibn al-Athīr (died in 630/1233), the *Kitāb mukhtaṣar*

*ad-duwal* of Barhebræus (died in 688/1289), the ***Mukhtaṣar ta'rīkh al-bashar*** of Abul-Fidā (died in 732/1331), and the *Al-kitāb al-Fakhrī fil-ādāb as-sulṭāniyya wad-duwal al-islāmiyya* of Ibn at-Tiqtaqā (about 701/1301), which is one of the best compendiums of Muslim history written in Arabic [1] The same activity is to be seen in biographical literature also. The former local or professional biographies had grown into the great collections of general biography, from which the companions of the prophet and the first four caliphs were excluded as being well known from the *tabaqāt*-works The most famous work of this kind, the *Kitāb wafayāt al-a'yān* of Ibn Khallikān (died in 681/1282), with its continuation · the *Fawāt al-Wafayāt* of al-Kutubī (died in 764/1363), the *Ta'rīkh al-hukamā* of al-Qiftī (died in 646/1248), and the *Kitāb 'uyūn al-anbā fī tabaqāt al-aṭibbā* of Ibn abī Usaybiyya (died in 668/1270), serve as reliable guides in this vast biographical literature.

But, at the same time, the necessity arose of further compilations comprising both political history and biographies of the illustrious in the same work As a matter of course, this style of historiography was chiefly cultivated by the encyclopædists, whose number rapidly increased from the sixth century A H , and who embraced the whole range of human knowledge of their time The first scholar who compiled a symposium of both general history and historical biography in one work was the celebrated Baghdād polyhistor Ibn al-Jauzī (died in 597/1200) With his *Kitāb al-muntazam* he initiated a new school of historiography in Arabic literature, because his work contains both general history in short annalistic form and also the obituary notices of all the persons of some consequence who died in the several years [2] The *Kitāb al-muntazam* was considered as a standard work on general history by many illustrious later historians.

[1] See the remark of R A Nicholson in his *A Literary History of the Arabs,* London, 1907, p 454

[2] See my paper, "*The Kitāb al-muntaẓam of Ibn al-Jauzī,*" in the *JRAS* , 1932, pp 49–76

Especially the *Mir'āt az-zamān* of Sibt ibn al-Jauzī (grandson of the former, died in 654/1256) should be mentioned in this connection, because Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī exactly followed the method of his famous ancestor, whose *Kitāb al-muntazam* he continued up to his own time and enlarged with additional matters often disregarded by Ibn al-Jauzī, as the local history of Syria, especially of Damascus The system laid down by the *Kitāb al-muntazam* was adopted by numerous later authors, as by Muḥammad ibn Shākir al-Kutubī (died in 764/1363) in his general history *'Uyūn at-tawārīkh* and also by at-Taghrībardī (died in 874/1469) in his history of Egypt, entitled *An-nujūm az-zāhira fī mulūk Misr wal-Qāhira* The common feature of all these voluminous compilations is the predominance of the biographical matter over the historical narrative With the possible exception of the period prior to their own time and some matters of predilection these works mostly contain shorter or longer *vitæ illustrorum virorum,* preceded for the sake of completeness by short, hardly sufficient and often biased surveys of political narrative, so that but for the material contained in the biographical records the *res gestæ* of a given later period of Muslim history could not probably have been reconstructed The general character of these historical works has been described excellently by R P A Dozy in speaking of the Spanish Arab historians "Hommes des lettres, ces chroniqueurs enregistrent en outre le décès des théologiens, des littérateurs, et donnent souvent des renseignements utiles pour l'histoire littéraire, mais ils passent à côté de certains événements politiques de la plus haute importance, et dans leurs écrits l'histoire proprement dite est travestie et mutilée, on n'y saisit le caractère général de l'époque qu'à travers une sorte de brouillard "[1]

With certain exceptions this characterization is generally good also for the authors of the school of Ibn al-Jauzī, thus

[1] See his *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne* par Ibn 'Adhārī, Leiden, 1849-51, p 19

especially for a prominent disciple of the famous Baghdād polyhistor, adh-Dhahabī His name has ever been famous for his lesser works, some of which are in general use both in the Orient and in the Occident, but his chief work, the *Ta'rīkh al-islām*, has never yet been studied nor discussed as a whole, though it fully deserves our attention for its valuable data, which are in many cases nowhere else obtainable

## ADH-DHAHABĪ [1]

Shamsaddīn abū 'Abdallāh Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn 'Uthmān ibn Qāimāz ibn 'Abdallāh adh-Dhahabī at-Turkumānī al-Fāriqī ad-Dimashqī ash-Shāfi'ī was born at Damascus or at Mayyāfāriqīn [2] on the 1st or 3rd of the month of Rabī' ath-thānī,[3] 673/5th or 7th of October, 1274 As his surname, at-Turkumānī, implies, his family was of Turkish descent In 690/1291—according to others [4] at the age of 18—he began his studies in *hadīth* in Damascus under the direction of 'Umar ibn Qawwās, Ahmad ibn Hibatallāh

[1] Sources for the biography of adh-Dhahabī —(1) Oriental works as-Suyūtī, *Tabaqāt al huffāz*, ed F Wustenfeld, xxi, 9, al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al Wafayāt*, Būlāq, 1282, vol ii, pp 183-4, as Subkī, *Tabaqāt ash Shāfi'iyya al-kubrā*, Cairo, 1324, vol v, pp 216–26, Muhammad ibn Āyās al Hanafī, *Badā'i' az zuhūr fī waqā'i' ad duhūr*, Būlāq, 1311, vol i, p 199, 'Umar ibn al Wardī, *Ta'rīkh*, Cairo, 1285, vol ii, p 348, Abul-Fidā, *Al-mukhtasar fī ta'rīkh al bashar*, Istanbul, 1286, vol iv, p 155, Ibn al-Ālūsī, *Jalā al-'aynayn fī muhākamat al-Ahmadayn*, Būlāq, 1298, p 21, Nāṣiraddīn ash Shāfi'ī, *Radd al-wāfir*, Cairo, 1329, p 19, al-Isnawī, *Tabaqāt al fuqahā*, Br M Suppl, No 643, fol 72, Ibn Qādī Shuhba, *Tabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyya*, Br M Suppl, No 644, fol 247–47*b*, al-Yāfi'ī, *Mir' āt al-janān*, Br M Suppl, No 473, fol 399*b*, Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, *Ad-durar al-kāmina*, Br M Suppl, No 614, vol ii, fol 54–54*b*, Muḥammad ibn al-Jamandā ibn 'Īsā ibn Dā'ud al-Afghān al-Hindī, *Muntakhab as-Sulūk*, Bankipore Cat, vol xv, No 973, fol 38*b*, Ibn 'Azam, *Dustūr al-i'lām*, Bankipore Cat, vol xii, No 656, fol 50*b*, 'Abdalhayy ibn Ahmad al-'Akarī, *Shadhrāt adh-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab*, Cairo Cat, vol v, p 72, vol iii, fol 791–5 (2) European works Wustenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber*, No 410, Brockelmann, *Gesch ar Lit*, vol ii, p 46, Cl Huart, *Arabic Literature*, London, 1903, pp 341–2, Pons Boygues, *Ensayo bio-bibliografico*, Madrid, 1898, p 416, Moh Ben Cheneb, in *Enc of Islām*, vol i, p 954

[2] See Moh Ben Cheneb, loc cit

[3] According to al-Kutubī, loc cit, in Rabī 'al-awwal

[4] See as-Suyūṭī and as-Subkī, loc cit

ibn 'Asākir and Yūsuf ibn Ahmad al-Qamūlī He continued his *hadīth* studies in several Islāmic centres, under the best authorities of his time Thus he studied in Ba'albakk with 'Abdalkhāliq ibn 'Ulwān, Zaynab bint 'Umar ibn al-Kindī and others, in Egypt with al-Abarqūhī, 'Īsā ibn 'Abdalmu'min ibn Shihāb, the *hāfizs* abū Muhammad ad-Dimyātī and abul-'Abbās az-Zāhirī, and chiefly with Ibn Daqīq al-'Id, in Mecca with at-Tūzarī, in Ḥalab with Sawqar az-Zaynī, in Nābulus with al-'Imād ibn Badrān, in Alexandria with Abul-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Ahmad al-'Irāqī, and Abul-Hasan Yahyā ibn Ahmad as-Ṣawwāf, and lastly in Cairo with Ibn Mansūr al-Ifrīqī [1] He also studied *fiqh* with no less authorities than Kamāladdīn ibn az-Zamlikānī, Burhānaddīn al-Fazārī, and Kamāladdīn ibn Qāḍī Shuhba He received *ijāza* from Abū Zakariyyā ibn as-Ṣayrafī, Ibn abil-Khayr, al-Qāsim al-Irbilī, and others [2] The number of his teachers is said to have surpassed thirteen hundred, the biographies of whom he collected in his *Mu'jam* [3]

As a result of his studies he became Professor of *Hadīth* at the *madrasa* Umm Ṣālih in Damascus, but could not succeed Yūsuf al-Mizzī (died in 742/1341) in a similar position at the Ashrafiyya, as the founder of the chair had made certain conditions regarding the *madhhab* of the professor, which he could not accept

Adh-Dhahabī had the reputation of a scholar of the first rank in history, *hadīth* and *fiqh*, in this latter he belonged to the *madhhab* of ash-Shāfi'ī He was at his studies day and night and had a great many excellent pupils, among whom his chief biographer is to be especially mentioned, 'Abdalwahhāb as-Subkī, author of the *Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyya al-kubrā* He was an intimate friend of the latter's father, Taqīaddīn as-Subkī, who was considered stronger than he in Shāfi'ite law After a successful scientific and teaching career

[1] See as-Subkī, loc cit

[2] See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyya*, loc cit

[3] A MS of it is in Cairo, see *Cat*, vol i, 2nd ed, p 252

he died at Damascus in the night of Sunday-Monday on the 3rd of the month of Dhul-qa'da 748/3–4 February, 1348,[1] or, according to others,[2] in 753/1353. He was buried at Damascus, at the Bāb as-Ṣaghīr, in the burial-place of so many illustrious Damascenes

His manifold capacities were acknowledged by his contemporaries and his later biographers as well Al-Kutubī begins his biographical record on adh-Dhahabī with select poetical phrases in praise of his scientific achievements.[3] He was commonly called by his biographers[4] *muhaddith al-'asr* (traditionist of the age) and *khātam al-ḥuffāz* (seal of the *hāfizs*) According to Ṣalāhaddīn as-Safadī, "he had nothing of the rigidness of the traditionists or of the stupidity of the historians, on the contrary, he was a *faqīh an-nafs* (a lawyer of spirit), and was skilled in the sayings (opinions) of people"[5] And Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī adds to this statement "I drank from the water of Zamzam in order to reach the rank of adh-Dhahabī in *hifz*"[6] He also composed a beautiful *qasīda* on the excellent qualities of adh-Dhahabī[7]

But, on the other hand, we also find opinions which tend to detract from the reputation of adh-Dhahabī Thus, his contemporaries, Abul-Fidā[8] and 'Umar ibn al-Wardī,[9] while admitting that he was a traditionist and historian of a high order, say that being struck by blindness in 743/1342–43—according to others as early as in 741—and seeing his end approaching, he compiled biographies of some of his contemporaries while they were still alive from information obtained from enthusiastic young men who gathered round

[1] See as-Suyūṭī and as-Subkī, loc, cit

[2] See Muḥammad ibn Āyās, loc cit

[3] See loc cit

[4] Thus by as-Subkī, loc cit, and by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, loc cit

[5] See in the *Ad-durar al-kāmina* of Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, loc cit

[6] See as-Suyūṭī, *Tabaqāt al-huffāz*, loc cit

[7] Ibid

[8] See his *Ta'rīkh*, loc cit.

[9] See his *Ta'rīkh*, loc cit

him. Not being able to verify their statements himself, he tarnished the good reputation of certain persons, though quite unwittingly.

As an author, he was not so prolific as Ibn al-Jauzī or as-Suyūtī, but some of his writings soon attained a high standard both in the Orient and in the Occident. His works—like those of so many post-classical Arab authors—are of compilatory character, and are distinguished by careful composition and constant references to his authorities. It is for these peculiarities that his works on *ḥadīth*, and especially on the *'ilm ar-rijāl*, have become very popular. The following of his works of this kind have been edited in print.—

(1) *Al-mushtabih fī asmā ar-rijāl* an alphabetical dictionary of proper names and *kunyas* appearing mainly in works on *ḥadīth*, and which might easily be confused (Ed de Jong, Leiden, 1881.)

(2) *Mīzān al-i'tidāl fī naqd ar-rijāl* (or *fī tarājim ar-rijāl*), an alphabetical dictionary of apocryphal traditionists or those suspected of being so and of unreliable ("weak") traditionists (Ed at Lucknow, 1301 and at Cairo, 1325.)

(3) *Tajrīd (fī) asmā as-saḥāba* a dictionary of the Prophet's companions based mainly upon the *Usd al-ghāba* of Ibn al-Athīr (Ed at Hyderabad, 1315.)

The following works on *ḥadīth* are only extant in manuscript [1] —

(4) *Tadhhīb at-tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmā ar-rijāl* an improved edition of the *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmā ar-rijāl* of Abū 'Abdallāh Muhammad ibn Mahmūd ibn al-Ḥasan ibn an-Najjār Muhibbaddīn ash-Shāfi'ī on the traditionists of the six canonical works [2] An abridgment of it entitled *Khulāsa Tadhhīb at-tahdhīb fī asmā ar-rijāl* was made

[1] See Brockelmann, op cit, pp 47–8, and O Spiesz, *Beiträge zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Abhandl f d Kunde des Mgl, Leipzig, 1932, pp 110–13

[2] Excerpts from the *Tadhhīb* were edited by A Fischer in his *Biographien von Gewährsmännern des Ibn Isḥāq, hauptsächlich aus aḏ-Ḏahabī*. Leiden, 1890

by Ahmad ibn 'Abdallāh al-Khazrajī. (Ed. at Būlāq, 1301.)

(5) *Al-kāshif fī ma'rifat asmā ar-rijāl*. an extract of the former work.

(6) *Al-muqtanā fī sard al-kunā*. a dictionary of *kunyas*.

(7) *Al-mustarjil fil-kunā* a dictionary of names only used in *kunyas*.

(8) *Manzūma fī asmā al-ḥuffāz*. a collection of the names of *ḥāfiẓs*.

(9) *Al-mūqiẓa* a treatise on the different sciences of *ḥadīth*

(10) *Al-mughnī fī aḍ-du'afā wa ba'd ath-thiqāt* a work on unreliable ("weak") authorities on the *hadīth*

(11) *Tashbīh al-khasīs bi ahl al-khamīs* a work on good authorities on *hadīth*

Besides *hadīth*, it is in history that adh-Dhahabī excelled most. He abridged some historical works, such as the history of Baghdād of Ibn ad-Dubaythī (died in 637/1239) in his *Mukhtasar li Ta'rīkh Baghdād li Ibn ad-Dubaythī* (Cairo Cat, vol v, p 145), and prepared a synopsis of Ibn al-Qifṭī's (died in 646/1248) history of the grammarians in his *Mukhtasar Akhbār an-nahwiyyīn li Ibn al-Qifṭī* (Leiden Cat, No. 876)

But adh-Dhahabī's principal and longest work is his great general history entitled *Ta'rīkh al-islām* (The History of Islām). This work, though well known and much referred to by both Oriental and Occidental scholars, has never yet been edited as a whole nor discussed at any length [1]

[1] The following parts of the *Ta'rīkh al-islām* have hitherto been edited (1) The biography of Ibn Rushd by J E Renan, *Averroes et l'Averroisme*, Appendice iv, 2e édition, Paris, 1861 (2) The biography of Abul-'Alā al-Ma'arrī, which is more copious than that of Ibn Khallikān and also following different sources, has been edited from the MS of the British Museum, No 1637 as an appendix to *The Letters of Abul-'Alā of Ma'arrat an-Nu'mān*, by D S Margoliouth in the *Anecdota Oxoniensa*, Semitic Series, Oxford, 1898, pp 129–37. (3) The biography of 'Umāra al-Yamanī is edited from the MS of the British Museum, No 1639, by H Dérenbourg in his *'Oumāra du Yemen, sa vie et son œuvre*, tome ii, Paris, 1902, pp. 491–5 (4) Short excerpts are printed in the notes to the *Dhayl ta'rīkh Dimashq* of Ibn al-Qalānisī, ed H F Amedroz, Beyruth, 1908

## THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *TA'RĪKH AL-ISLĀM*

The *Ta'rīkh al-islām* consisted of twelve [1] or twenty volumes.[2] It contains a general history up to A H 700, and was finished by adh-Dhahabī by the year 741/1340,[3] i e seven years before his death, which struck one of the later adh-Dhahabī specialists, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, who said "It is strange that he (adh-Dhahabī) stopped in his *Ta'rīkh al-islām* at the year 700 and did not continue it to the year 740, as he did in his *al-'Ibar* (see below), for it was continued in his presence by both al-Yūnīnī to his own time and al-Jazarī" [4]

The work was discovered part by part by Kamāladdīn ibn 'Abdalwāhid ibn 'Abdalkarīm ibn az-Zamlikānī, who said "It is an illustrious book!" [5] His opinion was certainly not shared by one of the most prominent pupils of adh-Dhahabī, 'Abdalwahhāb Tājaddīn as-Subkī according to whom "It would be an excellent work, if it were free from a certain bias" [6]

The work exists in a number of manuscripts contained in different European and Oriental libraries The hitherto known manuscripts containing parts of the work are as follows [7] —

(1) Cambridge (Browne), vol i, No 182 the beginning, down to the death of the Prophet

(2) Faysullāh, No 1480 vol i, A H 1–11

(3) Aya Sophia, No 3005 vol ii, A H 1–29

[1] According to Hājī Khalīfa, No 2220

[2] According to al-Kutubī, op cit, vol ii, p 183

[3] See Hājī Khalīfa, ibid

[4] Ibid

[5] al-Kutubī, loc cit

[6] See his *Tabaqāt ash Shāfi'iyya al-kubrā*, vol v, p 217

[7] See Brockelmann, vol ii, p 46–7, *Enc of Isl*, sub adh-Dhahabī, E Sarkīs, *Majmū'a al maṭbū'āt al-'arabiyya*, Cairo, 1928, *Hand-List*, Cambridge, No 182, *Suppl Cat of the British Museum*, No 468, *List, Br Mus*, *since 1894*, Or 48 and Or 5578, the handwritten *List of Oriental MSS of the British Museum from 1911–*, J Horovitz, *Aus den Bibliotheken von Kairo, Damaskus and Konstantinopel*, Berlin, 1907 (Mitteil d Sem f orient Spr), pp 9–13, O Spiesz, op cit, pp 70–2

(4) Kopruluzāde, No. 1015 pt i, A.H 1–40.

(5) Paris, No 1580[1] · vol i, A H 1–40

(6) Dr Lee, No 71 vol i, A H 1–40

(7) Tūnis (Mosque of Zaytūna, catalogue of B Roy), No 4830 · vol i, the life of Muhammad and the political narrative of A H. 3–10, copied from the autograph.

(8) Aya Sophia, No 3016 A H 41–120.

(9) Bodleian Library (Ury), No 652 A H 41–130

(10) Tūnis (Mosque of Zaytūna, catalogue of B Roy), No 4831 vol vi, A H. 40–130

(11) Kopruluzāde, No. 1016. pt. iv, A H 51–80

(12) Kopruluzāde, No 1018 (thus on the first page, in the margin outside, No 1019) A H 81–110, the biographies of the decade A.H 100–110 are only given as far as 'Abdarrahmān ibn Jābir ibn 'Abdallāh al-Ansārī

(13) Gotha (Pertsch), No 1563[2] A.H 143–5

(14) British Museum, Or 9256 (not yet catalogued): A H 151–70, from the XVIth class only the biographies from the letter ر to the end are given, from the XVIIth class only the general narrative and biographies as far as Dā'ud at-Tāy, according to a note on fol 110 it is an autograph of as-Ṣafadī

(15) Strasbourg (Spitta), No 12 A H 161–80, of which A H 161–70 is incomplete

(16) Aya Sophia, No 3006 A H 180–200 · the beginning is defective, only the end of A H 180 and then A.H. 181–200 are contained

(17) Cairo, vol v, p 21 A H 181–200, according to fol 162 it is an autograph dated in A H 726

(18) Bodleian Library (Ury), No 659 A H 191–200

(19) Aya Sophia, No 3007 vol. viii, A H 201–30.

(20) Kopruluzāde, No 1017 pt xiii, A.H 266–80, the title and the beginning are wanting, the biographies of A H 271–80 only extend to Muhammad Ibn Yūsuf Ibn 'Isā.

[1] And not 1880 as given by Brockelmann, loc. cit., and Horovitz, loc. cit.

[2] And not 1573, as given by Brockelmann, loc cit

(21) British Museum, Or. 48*: A.H. 301–50.

(22) Köprulüzâde, No. 1019 pt. XV, A.H. 301–50; without the biographies of A.H 341–50.

(23) Paris, No. 1581 vol VI, A.H. 301–400 [1]

(24) Gotha (Pertsch), No 1564 vol VII, A.H. 351–400; it breaks off among the biographies of A.H 399.

(25) British Museum, No 1636. vol XII, A.H 351–400

(26) Aya Sophia, No 3008: vol. XII, A.H. 351–400; it only contains the biographies

(27) British Museum, No 1637: vol. XIII, A.H 401–50.

(28) Aya Sophia, No 3009. vol XII (*sic!*), A.H. 401–50

(29) British Museum, No 1638: vol XIV, A.H 451–90

(30) 'Umūmiyye, No 5015 A.H. 451–700, i.e. to the end of the work

(31) Munich, Nr 378 A.H 487–90 and A.H 501–50

(32) Cairo, vol V, p 22: A.H 500–30, it only contains the biographies.

(33) Aya Sophia, No. 3010 vol XV, A.H. 501–50; the general narrative is complete, the biographies, however, extend only to A.H 546

(34) Bodleian Library (Ury), No 649 A.H 531–80

(35) British Museum, Or 5578 A.H 551–70, copied from the autograph

(36) British Museum, No 1639 vol XIV, A.H 561–80; the first decade is incomplete, only comprising A.H. 563–70.

(37) Aya Sophia, No 3015 A.H 571–700

(38) British Museum, No 1640 vol XVII and XVIII, A.H 581–610, the general narrative to A.H 620

(39) Paris, No 1582 perhaps vol X, A.H 581–620, with a gap between fols 128 and 129.

(40) Aya Sophia, No 3011 vol XVIII, A.H 601–20

(41) Aya Sophia, No 3012 vol XIX, A.H 621–40, the general narrative to A.H 650

(42) Bodleian Library (Ury), No. 654 A.H 621–60

[1] According to Brockelmann and Horovitz, loc cit, only till A.H. 370.

(43) Aya Sophia, No. 3013: vol. xx, A.H. 651–70, the biographies from A.H. 641 onwards.

(44) Kopruluzāde, No 1018 (continuation of the MS. quoted under No. 12) A.H 656–70, the general narrative of A H. 656 and the biographies of A.H. 661–70 are not contained.

(45) Bodleian Library (Ury), No 656 · A H. 661–700, the general narrative only to A H 680.

(46) Aya Sophia, No 3014 · vol xxi, A H 671–700

(47) British Museum, No 1641. vol. xxii, A.H. 681–90, it only contains biographies.

(48) Kopruluzāde, No 1020 pt. xxxvi, A.H 681–700, the biographies only from A H. 686 onwards.

(49) British Museum, Supplement, No. 486 A.H. 681–700, the general narrative from A H 691

(50) British Museum, Or 7967 (not yet catalogued) · four fragments containing biographies from A H 687–88, 690, 691–5, 691, corresponding to parts of British Museum, No 1641 and British Museum, Supplement, No 486

(51) Seray, No 2910 in twenty-three volumes.

(52) Dāmādzāde Qāḍī 'Askar Muhammad Murād, No 1433: an unidentified volume of the work

Kopruluzāde, No 1021, though denoted by a later hand as *Ta'rīkh al-islām li adh-Dhahabī*, which title is preceded by the word *dhayl* by a still later hand, is no part of our work, but—as seen from its concluding words—part of the *Mukhtaṣar fī ta'rīkh al-bashar* of Abul-Fidā [1]

From the MSS quoted above Aya Sophia, Nos 3005–16 comprise parts of two copies Nos 3005–14 being parts of one copy and Nos. 3015–16 those of another copy. Nos 3005–14 are autographs of adh-Dhahabī himself and must therefore be considered in the first place for a possible edition of the *Ta'rīkh al-islām*.[2]

From the MSS. hitherto known we can fairly well reconstruct

[1] See Horovitz, op. cit, p 11

[2] See Spiesz, op. cit, p. 70.

the whole *Ta'rīkh al-islām*, except the decades A.H. 131–40, 231–60, 281–300 The decades A H. 141–70 and 261–80 are extant only in part

Like many other Arabic works on general history, adh-Dhahabī's work was also continued by different later hands We know of the following continuations of the *Ta'rīkh al-islām* —

(1) A continuation comprising the biographies of A.H. 701–40 by adh-Dhahabī himself, it is in Leiden, No 765.

(2) A continuation by al-Yunīnī (died in 726/1326) · non-existing [1]

(3) A continuation by al-Jazarī (died in 833/1429); non-existing [2]

(4) A continuation by Abul-Fadhl 'Abdarrahīm al-'Irāqī (died in 806/1404), non-existing, it comprised A H 701–61 [3]

(5) A continuation of the work of 'Abdarrahīm al-'Irāqī by his son Ahmad ibn 'Abdarrahīm al-'Irāqī (died in 826/1423), comprising A H 762–86, it is in Kopruluzāde, No 1081 [4]

(6) A continuation by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba (died in 851/1447) entitled *Al-i'lām bi Ta'rīkh al-islām*, which exists in the following MSS [5] Bodleian Library (Ury), No 721 A H 691–740, Paris, Nos 1598–1600 A H 741–80, Kopruluzāde, No 1027, A H 689–791, Faisullāh, No 1403: A H 600–90 [6]

Owing to the voluminous character of the *Ta'rīkh al-islām*, many abridged editions were made of it As a matter of fact, there is hardly any other Arabic work on general history

[1] See Hājī Khalīfa, No 2220

[2] Ibid

[3] See Brockelmann, op cit, vol ii, p 65, *Bankipore Cat*, vol v, part ii, No 442, Horovitz, op cit, p 12

[4] See Brockelmann, op cit, vol ii, p 67, *Bankipore Cat*, vol. v, part ii, No 318

[5] See Hājī Khalīfa, Nos 951 and 2098, Spiesz, op cit, p 71, Ammerkung 1

[6] Spiesz, op cit, p 71, also quotes Kopruluzāde, No. 1189, as a continuation of the *Ta'rīkh al islām* by as-Sakhāwī (died in 902/1497), but, as its title shows (*Wajīz al-kalām fī dhayl Duwal al-islām*), it is a continuation of the *Duwal al-islām* of adh-Dhahabī (See below)

which has more *mukhtasars* than the *Ta'rīkh al-islām*. These abridged editions were known even earlier than the great work itself and have always been in general use as concise and reliable works of reference. Some of them were made by adh-Dhahabī himself and others by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, Ibn ash-Shammā' and Ildukuz al-Ayyūbī. According to their subject-matter, these compendiums are to be divided into two classes: (1) those containing both general narrative and obituary records, such as the *Kitāb duwal-al-islām* or "little history" (*at-ta'rīkh as-saghīr*) and the *Kitāb al-'ibar fī akhbār man 'abar* or "medium history" (*at-ta'rīkh al-awsat* or *al-mutawassit* by the author himself, or (2) biographical compendiums, such as the *Ṭabaqāt al-huffāz*, *Ṭabaqāt al-qurrā*, and *Siyar an-nubalā* by adh-Dhahabī himself.[1] The mere enumeration of these well-known works can testify the great literary value of their source, the *Ta'rīkh al-islām*.

We may suppose that such an important work was also translated into other Oriental languages. At least the existence of a Persian translation was proved by Pétis de la Croix, who at the end of his work, *Histoire du Grand Genghizcan* (Paris, 1710), enumerates his authorities on the history of the Mongols, among which he mentions a Persian translation of an extract entitled *Intikhāb as-salātīn* from the *Ta'rīkh al-islām* of adh-Dhahabī.[2] This extract treats of "the fourth class of the second order of the kings", i.e. of the Mongol kings, "the first of whom had been the great Jingiz-khān and the kings of Persia of the race, the first of whom had been Hūlākū, his grandson". According to Pétis de la Croix, this book was written in A.H. 757 corresponding to A.D. 1536. This date is evidently wrong, because

[1] For the compendiums of the *Ta'rīkh al-islām* see my paper in the *Islamica*, Leipzig, 1932, pp. 334–53. O. Spiesz (op. cit., p. 73) also mentions a *Muntakhab at-ta'rīkh al-kabīr*, a MS. of which is in Welī, No. 2449; it treats in three classes: (1) of the companions of Muhammad and of the *tābi'ūn*, (2) of the *fuqahā* and *'ulamā*, (3) of the *hukamā* and *atibbā*, including also the Greek philosophers.

[2] See p. 550.

**it is the year A.D. 1356 and not 1536 that corresponds to A.H. 757. Supposed that this *hijra*-date is correct, this Persian translation had been made at a very early date after the death of adh-Dhahabī** It must have comprised only that part of the *Ta'rīkh al-islām* which included the history of the Mongols, i e roughly the seventh century A H Unfortunately we known nothing particular of this translation of the *Ta'rīkh al-islām*, except the reference of Pétis de la Croix. But even this is significative of the great importance of adh-Dhahabī's work [1]

## AN ANALYSIS OF THE *TA'RĪKH AL-ISLĀM*

As its title implies, the *Ta'rīkh al-islām* treats of the history of *Islām* only . it begins with the genealogy of Muhammad and does not deal with the earlier period of history It, therefore, does not follow the scheme of Arabic works on general history which start with the Creation, then proceed to the history of Adam, of the prophets and of the ancient peoples (especially the Jews and the Persians), and then give the genealogy of Muhammad and the history of Islām This is the scheme adopted by at-Tabarī and followed by Ibn al-Athīr, al-Mas'ūdī, and other historians, and also by Ibn al-Jauzī, this latter expressly indicates in the title of his *Kitāb al-muntazam* that it is a *general history* (" *akhbār al-mulūk wal-umam* ") and *not* merely an Islāmic history

Notwithstanding this, adh-Dhahabī adopted the general scheme of the *Kitāb al-muntazam* in his *Ta'rīkh al-islām* His work, like that of Ibn al-Jauzī, is also both a general history and a collection of biographies, with this essential difference, however, that he does not give the biographical records in the same chapter together with the general narrative as Ibn al-Jauzī does, but he entirely separates both parts from one another Both the general narrative

[1] Brockelmann (loc cit ) mentions also a Turkish translation of the *Ta'rīkh al islām* in Berlin (Türkischer Katalog, No 192) This is, however, the Turkish translation of another work on general history, the *Al-bidāya wan-nihāya* of Ibn Kathīr ad Dimashqi (died in 774/1372)

*(al-ḥawādith al-kā'ina)* and the biographies *(al-mutawaffūn)* are divided into "classes" *(ṭabaqāt)* of ten years so that the whole work consists of seventy classes beginning with A.H. 1 and ending with A H. 700. The classes of the general narrative come first, subdivided into the years of each decade, and followed as separate parts of the work by the classes of the biographies.[1] These latter are equally subdivided into the years of each decade and completed generally by a separate chapter giving the biographies of those whose dates of death could not be stated exactly but can be approximately ranked into one decade (entitled *Dhikru man tuwuffiya ba'da sanatin . . . taqrīban wa ilā sanatin* ) The relation of the general narrative to the biographies is rather unequal, the former comprises one-sixth or one-seventh of the thick manuscript volumes and the remaining space is devoted to the biographies

A *General Narrative (ḥawādith)*

In the general narrative adh-Dhahabī follows the example of the former historians, subdividing his narrative of every year into shorter or longer sections beginning with the words "*wa fīhā*" ("and in this, sc. year"). There is, however, a substantial difference between the subject-matter of the general narrative of the first three centuries and that of the following four centuries In the first three centuries A H. the records are very short, not detailed, and only give the gist of the matter They can be styled a concise compendium of the *Ta'rīkh ar-rusul wal-mulūk* of at-Tabarī, the general use of which was so common and well known that adh-Dhahabī considered it superfluous to give a detailed narrative of the events in this period Usually there is a short enumeration of the more notable persons who died in the year in question—they are always recorded in full among the biographies—then there follows, as a rule, the mention of the leaders of the annual pilgrimage, though sometimes this is

[1] In several manuscript volumes *all* the classes of the general narrative are grouped together and are followed by *all* the classes of the biographies.

put to the end of the general narrative Last are recorded the political events well known from aṭ-Ṭabarī.

Of a different character is the general narrative of the last four centuries (A H 301–700) The records are of considerable length, with constant references to the authorities consulted by adh-Dhahabī, which clearly shows his intention of writing a continuation of at-Ṭabarī's work For this reason the scheme of the general narrative of this second, *post-Ṭabarī*, period of the *Ta'rīkh al-islām* is different from that of the first period. First come the detailed records of political history, then follow, as a rule, those of local history and administrative affairs, those of Baghdād and Damascus are especially well recorded. Together with the latter are recorded the so-called *'ajā'ib* ("strange things") the curiosities and striking phenomena of the year and then the leaders of the pilgrimage from Baghdād and Damascus, followed by a short enumeration of the more notable persons who died in the year in question

In drawing up this system adh-Dhahabī entirely adopted that of Ibn al-Jauzī in his *Kitāb al-muntazam* [1] Like his illustrious master, he also makes a point of quoting his authorities, whereby we can reliably state what sources he consulted in compiling his general narrative

In order to present a clear account of the literary value of the *Ta'rīkh al-islām* we give a concise enumeration of the events which are either not recorded in Ibn al-Athīr's *Al-kāmil fit-ta'rīkh* or are recorded also from different authorities As a matter of course, our data only refer to the years A H 301–700, for which adh-Dhahabī's records are more elaborate than for the previous period A H. 1–300, also recorded in at-Tabarī The additional authorities mentioned in the narrative of adh-Dhahabī are put in parentheses, where none are mentioned the possible authorities are likely to be either Ibn al-Jauzī or Sibt ibn al-Jauzī [2]

[1] See my paper in the *JRAS* 1932, pp 58–62

[2] The MSS consulted are those of the British Museum and the Bodleian Library

(a) *Political History*

A H. 301 al-Khāqānī was taken prisoner by the Caliph al-Muqtadir Hallāj was imprisoned (more detailed than at-Ṭabarī, III, p. 2289) Abū Sa'īd al-Jannābī was murdered (Thābit ibn Sinān) Al-Mahdī's army was sent to Egypt (al-Musabbihī)

A H 302. Ibn al-Jassās was captured (Ibn al-Jauzī, at-Tanūkhī).

A H 305 al-Muqtadir received the legate of the Romans (Abū Bakr as-Ṣūlī)

A H 306 death of Abul-'Abbās ibn Sarīj [1] (ad-Dāraqutnī).

A H 309 execution of Ḥallāj, his biography (Ibn Bākūya ash-Shīrāzī, Abul-Ḥusayn ibn Muhammad al-Minādī, Ahmad ibn Yūsuf at-Tanūkhī, Abū Bakr as-Ṣūlī, 'Alī ibn Ahmad al-Ḥāsib, Ibn Ḥauqal, Ibn al-Jauzī, Thābit ibn Sinān, as-Sullamī *Ta'rīkh*)

A H 311 removal of Hāmid ibn al-'Abbās from the wazīrate The vilāyat of Ibn al-Furāt (al-Mas'ūdī)

A H 314 the Qarmatians in 'Irāq (Thābit ibn Sinān).

A H 317 the Qarmatians in Baghdād (Thābit ibn Sinān) and in Mecca (Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn 'Alī ibn al-Qāsim adh-Dhahabī, Mahmūd al-Isfahānī, as-Simnānī *Ta'rīkh*, al-Qīlawī, Muhammad ibn ar-Rabī' ibn Sulaymān al-Marāghī)

A H 320 rule of Mūnis in Mausil, assassination of al-Muqtadir (as-Ṣūlī, Thābit ibn Sinān, Ishāq ibn Ismā'īl an-Naubakhtī)

A.H 322 deposition of al-Qāhir billāh, caliphate of ar-Rāḍī billāh (Thābit ibn Sinān, al-Qādī abul-Ḥusayn, Mahmūd al-Isfahānī, as-Ṣūlī, Muhammad ibn 'Alī al-Khurāsānī, al-Mas'ūdī) Death of al-Mahdī 'Ubaydallāh, lord of Egypt (al-Qāḍī 'Abdaljabbār ibn Ahmad ibn 'Abdaljabbār al-Basrī, Ibn al-Bāqillānī *Kashf al-asrār al-Bātiniyya*, Ibn Khallikān, an anonymous *Ta'rīkh al-Qayrawān*).

A H 324 arrest of Ibn Muqla (Thābit ibn Sinān)

[1] Ibn al-Athīr, vol VIII, p 85, gives his name as Sarīḥ

A.H. 326: the hands of Ibn Muqla were cut off (Thābit ibn Sinān).

A.H 329. death of ar-Rāḍī billāh (aṣ-Ṣūlī), caliphate of al-Muqtafī billāh (as-Ṣūlī, Thābit ibn Sinān)

A H. 332 death of abū 'Abdallāh al-Buraydī (Ibn Ḥamdān aṭ-Ṭabīb).

A H 333. al-Muttaqī's meeting with Tūzūn (al-Mas'ūdī)

A.H 334 al-Qāsim ibn al-Qāsim lord of Maghrib (al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ)

A.H 335 Sayfaddaula's fight with Abul-Muzaffar Ḥasan ibn Ṭughj (al-Musabbihī).

A H 339 the Black Stone was taken back to Mecca (al-Musabbihī)

A H 340 the Black Stone was put back to its old place in Mecca (Abul-Ḥasan Muhammad ibn Nāfi' al-Khuzā'ī)

A.H 342· on Ahmad ibn al-Hunād (Abū Ja'far Ahmad ibn 'Aunallāh al-Qurtubī, Abū 'Umar az-Ẓalimnakī)

A H 343 fight between Anūjūr ibn al-Ikhshīd and Kāfūr.

A H 350 death of 'Abdarrahmān an-Nāṣir lord of Andalus

A H 351 the chronological work of as-Ṣābī (Thābit ibn Sinān) Death of the wazīr al-Muhallabī ('Alī ibn Muhammad ash-Shimshātī *Ta'rīkh*)

A H 352 day of jubilee ordered by Mu'izzaddaula (Thābit ibn Sinān, at-Tanūkhī)

A H 355 Sayfaddaula's fights and truce with the Romans

A H. 356 death of Mu'izzaddaula (Abul-Qāsim at-Tanūkhī)

A H 357 death of Nāṣiraddaula Revolt of Abul-Ḥasan Muhammad ibn al-Mustakfī against al-Mu'taḍad

A H 362 ad-Damastaq was taken prisoner

A H 363 illness of al-Mutī' billāh and caliphate of at-Ṭā'ī li amr Allāh (Abū Mansūr ibn 'Abdal'azīz al-'Ukbarī) Muhammad ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Hāshimī new chief qāḍī of Baghdād, the document of the caliph conferring on him this dignity.

A.H 367 fight between Hafteghin (هفتكين) and the 'Ubaydīs

A.H. 368: by order of aṭ-Ṭā'ī li amr Allāh honours were given to 'Aḍudaddaula (Ibn al-Jauzī).

A.H. 369· the legate of 'Azīz billāh with 'Aḍudaddaula; closer relations between the latter and at-Ṭā'ī li amr Allāh (A *qasīda* by abū Isḥāq as-Ṣābī).

A.H 370 'Aḍudaddaula's meeting with aṭ-Ṭā'ī li amr Allāh in Baghdād ('Alī ibn 'Abdal'azīz)

A H. 372: on Abū 'Umar Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd ibn al-Andalusī al-Faqīh (al-Ḥumaydī)

A H. 379 flight of al-Qādir billāh from at-Tā'ī li amr Allāh (more detailed than Ibn al-Athīr, vol IX, pp 45–6)

A.H 381 caliphate of al-Qādir billāh (Hilāl aṣ-Ṣābī, Muhammad ibn 'Abdalmalik al-Hamdānī, Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī)

A H 388. some verses on the Būyides (Abū Manṣūr ath-Tha'ālibī)

A H. 392· Maḥmūd ibn Sebukteghin's campaign in India (Abul-Fath al-Bustī)

A H. 395 a detailed account on the end of the Sāmānid dynasty from the time of the conquest of Bukhārā by Īlek khān till their end which is put by adh-Dhahabī in this year (more detailed than Ibn al-Athīr, vol IX, pp 133–4, abū Tammām)

A H 398 the order of al-Ḥākim bi amr Allāh for the destruction of the church of the Holy Sepulchre (more detailed than Ibn al-Athīr, vol IX, p 147) Sedition in Andalusia

A H. 403 burial of the daughter of Abū Nūh at-Tayyib The carriage of wooden crosses was ordered by al-Ḥākim bi amr Allāh for the Christians

A H 404 Fakhr al-Malik's meeting with the caliph at Baghdād. Al-Ḥākim's new oppressive measures. The fight of the Turk Toghay with the Chinese.

A.H. 405 al-Ḥākim's measures against women.

A H 409 Maḥmūd ibn Sebukteghin's campaign in India (al-'Utbī *Ta'rīkh*)

A H. 410 Maḥmūd ibn Sebukteghin's campaign in India

A.H. 411: disappearance of al-Ḥākim bi amr Allāh (more detailed than Ibn al-Athīr, vol ix, pp 221–2). Death of 'Abdarrahīm, successor of al-Hākim (Abū Ya'lā Ḥamza)

A.H 413 damage to the Ka'ba done by some Egyptians (Hilāl as-Ṣābī, Ibn at-Tursī)

A H 414 Mahmūd ibn Sebukteghin's campaign in India (more detailed than Ibn al-Athīr, vol ix, p 234)

A H. 418 Mahmūd ibn Sebukteghin's campaign in India

A H 420 report on the Bātinites in Khurāsān Quarrels between Mu'tazilites and Rāfiḍīs (Abul-Ḥasan az-Zaynabī).

A H 423 revolt of the Turks against Jalāladdaula (more detailed than Ibn al-Athīr, vol ix, p 288)

A H 424 expulsion of Jalāladdaula from Baghdād and his return there (more detailed than Ibn al-Athīr, vol ix, pp 293–4)

A H 427 revolt of the army against Jalāladdaula (more detailed than Ibn al-Athīr, vol ix, p 303)

A H 429 Jalāladdaula claimed for himself the title of *malik al-mulūk* (Ibn al-Jauzī, al-Imām Ahmad).

A H 430 Jalāladdaula assumed the title of *al-malik al-'azīz*

A H 433 promulgation of the so-called *i'tiqād al-Qādirī* in the *dīwān*

A H 445 arrival of the Ghuzz at Ḥalwān Excommunication of Abul-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī in Nīsābūr (Abul-Qāsim al-Qushayrī)

A H 450 return of al-Basāsīrī to Baghdād (al-Qīlawī *Ta'rīkh*)

A H 451 capture of Baghdād by al-Basāsīrī, flight of the Caliph al-Qā'im bi amr Allāh

A H 464 Nizām al-mulk's fight in Fāris

A H 469 campaign of Atsiz in Egypt (Hibatallāh ibn Ahmad al-Akfānī), Ibn al-Qalānisī

A H 478 siege of Toledo by the Franks (more detailed than Ibn al-Athīr, vol x, pp 92–3)

A.H 485 fights of the Muslims with the Franks in

Andalusia (Alyasa ibn Khadm). The Sulṭān of Yaman in Baghdād (Sibt ibn al-Jauzī).

A H 491. capture of Antiochia (Sibt ibn al-Jauzī, Ibn al-Qalānisī) Discontent of the army against Barkiyārūq (Ibn al-Qalānisī)

A H 492 capture of Jerusalem by the crusaders (Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī, Ibn al-Qalānisī)

A H 494 appearance of the Bāṭinites in 'Irāq (Ibn al-Jauzī, al-Ghazālī *Sirr al-'ālamayn*) Intervention of Qilij Arslān in the fight of the crusaders against the Turks (Usāma ibn Munqidh)

A H. 495. fights of Sanjīl (St Giles) (Sibt ibn al-Jauzī)

A H 498. death of Sanjīl

A H 500 assassination of Ibn 'Attāsh (Abul-Hasan 'Alī ibn 'Abdarrahmān as-Sinjābī).

A H 552 Muhammadshāh Mahmūd in Baghdād Nūraddīn's fight with the crusaders (Ibn al-Qalānisī)

A H. 553 · fights with the Ghuzz in Khurāsān (Ibn al-Jauzī).

A H 554 fights of Nūraddīn (Ibn al-Qalānisī) Death of Muhammadshāh ibn as-Sultān Mahmūdaddīn (Ibn Tūmart).

A H 563 Ṣalāhaddīn's fights with the crusaders (Ibn ash-Shaddād) Death of Asadaddīn (Ibn Wāṣil) Campaign of the crusaders against Cairo (al-'Ammād)

A H 566 death of al-Mustanjid billāh (Ibn al-Jauzī) Battle with the crusaders at Dimyāṭ (al-'Ammād)

A H 567 fights of Nūraddīn and Ṣalāhaddīn in Egypt (al-'Ammād)

A H 569 al-Muwaffaq ibn al-Faysarānī sent legates to Egypt (Ibn abī Ṭayy) Movement of the Shī'ites, execution of 'Umāra al-Yamanī (Ibn Wāṣil, al-'Ammād)

A H 571 fights round Mecca (Ibn al-Jauzī, al-Qīlawī: *Ta'rīkh*) Fights of Ṣalāhaddīn and Nūraddīn (Ibn abī Tayy)

A H 572 report on al-Malik al-'Ādil (Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī) Report on Qaraqūsh (Ibn Wāsil)

A H 573 · the preaching of Ibn al-Jauzī in Baghdād (Ibn al-Jauzī).

A.H. 575: the Franks round Ramla. Tāshteghin was invested with the *khil'a* Report on the Mamlūks (al-Buzūrī, at-Tamīmī)

A H 576 the Sultān in Alexandria (al-'Ammād)

A.H 579 the victory of the Romans predicted from the Qur'ān by Majdaddīn ibn Jahbāl al-Ḥalabī (Abū Shāma).

A.H 582· Tāghteghin, brother of Ṣalāhaddīn at Mecca (al-Buzūrī) The assassination of Ibn Baysān by the Ismā'ilites ('Abdallaṭīf al-Baghdādī)

A H 583 fights of Ṣalāhaddīn (Ibn ash-Shaddād, al-'Ammād, al-Jawānī, Sibt ibn al-Jauzī)

A H 584 Ṣalāhaddīn's conquests in Syria (al-'Ammād, Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī) Meeting of the Sultān Tughrulshāh and the wazīr Jalāladdīn ibn Yūnus (al-Buzūrī, Sibt ibn al-Jauzī) Fights with the crusaders (Ibn Shaddād, al-'Ammād, Ibn Wāsil).

A H 586 fights with the crusaders ('Abdallatīf al-Baghdādī, Hāṭim)

A.H. 587 fights with the crusaders (Ibn ash-Shaddād *Sīrat Ṣalāhaddīn*, al-Buzūrī)

A H 589 Hisn al-Jīl redeemed by the crusaders (Abū Shāma, al-'Ammād) Report on al-Afdal (Ibn Wāsil)

A H 591 rule of Mu'ayyadaddīn Muhammad ibn al-Qasāā-'ib in Hamadhān (al-Buzūrī, Ibn Wāsil) Arrival of al-Malik al-'Azīz at Damascus (Abū Shāma)

A H 592 al-Malik al-'Azīz at Damascus (Abū Shāma)

A H 593 victory of al-Malik al-'Ādil at Yāfā (Abū Shāma).

A H 594 Ibn al-Jauzī released from the prison of Wāṣit and pardoned Meeting of Bahāaddīn and Ghiyāthaddīn (al-Buzūrī)

A H 596 clash of the armies of al-Malik al-'Ādil and al-Afḍal (Ibn Wāsil, al-Buzūrī)

A H 597 Ghiyāthaddīn and Shihābaddīn left Ghazna for Khurāsān (al-Buzūrī)

A H 600 Nūraddīn's victory at Tell 'Afar (Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī) The Franks at Ḥalab (Ibn Wāsil)

A.H. 601 · exclusion of the son of an-Nāṣir li dīn Allāh from the succession (Abū Shāma). Fights with the crusaders in Syria (al-Fārisī *Ta'rīkh*).

A.H 604 · Ayyūb ibn al-Malik al-'Ādil's reign in Khilāṭ (Ibn Wāsil)

A H 605 Shihābaddīn as-Suhrawardī in Rusaylā (Abū Shāma) Khwārzimshāh conquered Herāt, his fights with Jinghizkhān ; the Tatars ('Abdallatīf al-Baghdādī · *Khabar at-Tatār*, an-Nasawī)

A H 607 reunion of the princes with al-Malik al-'Ādil. Nūraddīn's gift to his son Report on Ibn ad-Duhayra. Al-Bāl al-Qubrasī's expedition from Acre to Dimyāt

A H 608 Muslim victory at Toledo.

A H 609 revolt of Sāma in Egypt (Abū Shāma) Marriage of al-Malik az-Ẓāhir with the daughter of al-Malik al-'Ādil Muslim victory in Andalusia

A H 610 Khwārizmshāh escaped from his captivity with the Tatars Birth of a son to al-Malik al-'Azīz in Ḥalab (Ibn Wāsil)

A H 611 expedition of the Franks against the Ismā'īlites Sarkhad occupied by al-Malik al-Mu'azzam

A H 612 expedition of the Franks against the Ismā'īlites (Abū Shāma) Reign of al-Malik al-Mas'ūd ibn al-Kāmil in Yaman Expedition of the amīr of Madīna against Qatāda the lord of Mecca Fights with the Tatars and the Assassins

A H 614 legation of the qāḍī Majdaddīn Muhammad ibn Sa'd al-Khwārizmī in Baghdād (Abū Shāma)

A H. 615 al-Malik al-'Ādil's fights with the crusaders (Ibn Wāsil). Al-Malik al-Ashraf's victory over the Romans (Abū Shāma) Reception by Khwārizmshāh of the legates of Jinghizkhān in Nīsābūr (al-Mu'ayyad 'Imādaddīn *Ta'rīkh*)

A H 616 evacuation of Khwārizm by Turkhān Khātun [1] Devastation of Jerusalem by al-Mu'azẓam (a poem by Majdaddīn Muhammad ibn 'Abdallāh Qāḍī at-Ṭaur) The

[1] See the more copious record of an-Nasawī, ed Houdas, pp 38–42.

crusaders captured Dımyāṭ (Sa'daddīn Sa'īd ibn al-Ḥamawıyya, Abū Shāma, Ibn Wāsıl)

A H 617 · Muzaffaraddīn's victory over Badraddīn al-Lu'lu' at Arbıl Appearance of the Tatars in Central Asia (an-Nasawī, 'Abdallatīf al-Baghdādī, Ibn Wāsıl).

A H 618 clash between the armies of Jınghızkhān and Jalāladdīn ibn Khwārızmshāh (Ibn Wāṣıl) Meeting of al-Malık al-Mu'azzam with his brother (Abū Shāma)

A H 619 encounter of Jalāladdīn ibn Khwārızmshāh with Shamsaddīn Itmish

A H 620 meeting of al-Malık al-Ashraf with al-Mu'azzam (Abū Shāma)

A H 622 the Tatars took Tiflis (Abū Shāma).

A H 623 death of az-Zāhır billāh, caliphate of al-Mustansır billāh (Ibn ash-Shāri'ī)

A.H 624 the legate of the crusaders with al-Malık al-Mu'azzam

A H 626 the crusaders took Jerusalem (Abū Shāma)

A H 627 the taking of Ba'albakk (Abū Shāma). Defeat of the Khwārızmites at Khılāt ('Abdallatīf al-Baghdādī)

A H 628 fights in Maghrib between the Banū 'Abdalmu'min and the Maghribīs

A H 629 advance of the Tatars in Ādharbayjān.

A H 630 the taking of Āmid Rājıh ibn Qatārım marched against Mecca Fights round Arbıl

A H 632 'Umar ibn Rasūl's reign in Yaman Introduction of the new coins of al-Mustansır billāh (al-Muwaffaq abul-Ma'ālī al-Qāsim ibn abil-Ḥudayd)

A H 633 advance of the Tatars from Arbıl to Mausıl Cordoba was taken by the Franks (Abū Ḥayyān, Ibn al-Abbār)

A H 634 pigeon-post from Ruknaddīn in Mausıl to Sharafaddīn in Baghdād Truce between al-Kāmıl and the Romans

A H 635 the Tatars in Daqūqā, their clash with Jalāladdīn. Al-'Ādıl sultān of Egypt

A.H 639: fights with the Tatars (Sa'dallāh).

A H 640 · the Tatars took Erzerum (Ibn al-Ḥamawiyya)

A H 641 victory of the Tatars over the Saljūqs of Rūm.

A H 642 advance of the Tatars in Transoxania (Sa'daddīn *Ta'rīkh*) The Tatars in Shahrazūr

A H 643 the Egyptian Mu'ayyadaddīn's campaign against Damascus (Sa'daddīn ibn al-Ḥamawiyya, abū Shāma). Advance of the Tatars to معرا.

A.H 644 hostility between al-Mu'azzam and al-Malik al-Muzaffar (Sa'daddīn ibn al-Ḥamawiyya) al-Musta'sim billāh gave dowries to his sons (Ibn as-Sā'ī) Two legates of the Tatars with the Muslims The crusaders took Xativa

A H 645 the Sultān Ṣālih Ayyūb took the fortress of as-Ṣabība (Sa'daddīn ibn al-Ḥamawiyya) The fortress of Shahīmas was taken from al-Ashraf by the Sultān Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb

A H 647 al-Amjad Ḥasan ibn an-Nāṣir in Egypt The crusaders took Dimyāt (Ibn as-Sā'ī) 'Alī al-Arbilī marched against Baghdād

A H 648 battle of the crusaders at al-Mansūra (Sa'daddīn *Ta'rīkh*, Jamāladdīn ibn Matrūh, Ibn Isrā'īlī). Clash between 'Izzaddīn at-Turkumānī and the Yamrites, death of Tāj al-mulūk (Sa'daddīn) Death of al-Mu'azzam (Ibn as-Sā'ī)

A H 651 peace between al-Malik an-Nāsir and the Egyptians Hūlākū khān, after crossing the Arghūn, marched to Khurāsān Al-Malik an-Nāsir occupied 'Akka and Ṣaydā

A.H 652 appearance of a Khārijite in Maghrib pretending to be al-Mustansir billāh al-Malik an-Nāsir married the daughter of Kayqubādh, sultān of Rūm Plunderings of Oqtāy in as-Ṣamīd (Shamsaddīn al-Jazarī) Victory of the lord of Mausil over the 'Adawīs

A H 653 clash between al-Malik an-Nāsir and al-Malik al-Mu'izz In a separate chapter · enumeration of the names of the Yamrites

A.H. 654 · enumeration of the kings of that time. Hūlākū marched against Rayy

A H 655 death of al-Malik al-Mu'izz Tatar legates in Baghdād Appearance of the Ḥaydariyya in Syria. Campaign of al-Mughīth in Egypt (Ibn Wāsil) The Tatars in Mausil Sa'daddīn Khadhar ibn Hamawiyya's misfortune (from his own *Ta'rīkh*) Hūlākū marched from Hamadhān to Baghdād.

A H 656 the Tatars took Baghdād (a *qasīda* by Taqīaddīn Ismā'īl ibn abil-Yusr, Ibn al-Kāzarūnī)

A H 657 advance of the Tatars to Āmid and Ḥarrān, their crossing of the Euphrates

A H 658 review of the *sāhibs* of the different provinces Advance of Hūlākū to Ḥalab (Qutbaddīn *Ta'rīkh*, abū Shāma) Taking of Damascus (Ibn al-Jauzī, abū Shāma, Qutbaddīn, 'Izzaddīn ibn ash-Shaddād)

A H 659 review of the *sāhibs* of the year Battle of Ḥimṣ (al-Jazarī, abū Shāma, Qutbaddīn)

A H 660 fights round Mausil (Ibn Khallikān)

A H 661 clash between al-Malik az-Zāhir and al-Mughīth. Encounter of Hūlākū with the Berke

A H 662 Shihābaddīn abū Shāma's rule in Mashīkha

A H 663 Muslim victory in Andalusia (Abū Shāma). The Tatars attacked al-Bīra Hūlākū's death was reported, his son Abnā became king of the Tatars

A H 664 solemn exit of the Sultān from Egypt to Jerusalem (Sa'daddīn *Ta'rīkh*)

A H 665 victory of Burāq son of Jaghatāy over Abaqa near Herāt

A H 666 the legate of al-Malik al-Muzaffar Shamsaddīn in Egypt Siege of Yāfā The Sultān asked for truce (Ibn 'Abdazzāhir *Sīrat az-Zāhiriyya*) Redemption of the son of Bogha, lord of Sais, from the captivity of the Tatars

A H 667 the Sultān received the legates of Bogha

A H. 668 campaign of the Sultān in Syria, his encounter with Ṣārimaddīn Mubārak and the Ismā'īlites. Fight with the crusaders in Tūnis

A.H. 669. the Sulṭān's campaign against 'Asqalān an Ḥiṣn al-Akrād. Al-Malik al-'Azīz was captured in Cairo Revolt of Idrīs in Mecca The crusaders in Tūnis.

A H 670 campaign of the Sulṭān against the Kurks an the Tatars (Shamsaddīn Muhammad ibn al-Fakhr). Hi expedition to al-Jīza The Tatars in Ḥarrān

A H 671 · incursion of the *sāhib an-nauba* Fight with th Tatars on the Euphrates (ash-Shihāb Mahmūd Ibqā Allāh).

A H. 672 the Sultān entered 'Asqalān Story of the kin of the Georgians

A H 673. the Sultān in Damascus and Sīs (al-'Ammād Ibn 'Abdazzāhīr)

A.H. 674 Tatar attack on Bīra Campaign of an-Nūba and Ranqala (Ibn 'Abdazzāhir)

A H 675 fights of Badraddīn al-Atābakī with the Tatar in Palestine The Sultān, after going to Derbend, defeated the Tatars (Qutbaddīn *Ta'rīkh*)

A H 676 fights of the Sulṭān with Abnā ( —— )

A H 678 sultānate of al-Malik al-Mansūr.

A H 679 fights of Sunqūr al-Ashghar with the Tatars.

A H 680 defeat of the Tatars at Ḥims

A H 691 · victory of the Sultān over the Romans.

A H 692 the Sultān demanded the fortress of Bahnā from the prince of Sīs

A.H. 693 assassination of the Sultān al-Malik al-Ashraf.

A H 694 Ghāzān, the grandson of Hūlākū embrace Islām.

A H 698 movement of the Shāfi'ite *mutakallimūn*

A H. 699. the Tatars invaded Syria and took Damascus (Ibn Ṣabbāh az-Zubaydī)

A H. 700 the Tatars in Syria.

As it may be seen, adh-Dhahabī's especial concerns are (1) the history of the Seljūqs, Ayyūbids and the Mongol invasion, (2) the internal development of Islām, especiall the movement of the Bātinites and the Shī'ites; (3) the Western Islām, a territory which was neglected by aṭ-Ṭabar.

and also by Ibn al-Athīr to a certain extent. As a whole, the *Ta'rīkh al-islām* shows the tendency of adh-Dhahabī to deal with the development of the whole of Islām, though, as a matter of course, his records are more detailed for Syria and Egypt than for other Muslim territories

(*b*) *Local History*

Like his predecessors, Ibn al-Jauzī and Sibt ibn al-Jauzī, adh-Dhahabī also takes a special interest in the events of local importance But whereas the main concern of Ibn al-Jauzī is directed to the history of Baghdād and that of Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī to the local history of Damascus, adh-Dhahabī, by making use of both these works, records the local chronicle of both Muslim cities Not considering the many accounts concerning these cities which are contained in his political narrative, it is peculiarly between A H. 301–700 that he regularly records the changes in the administration of both Baghdād and Damascus and sometimes also of other cities, mentioning the names of the new *qāḍīs*, *wālīs*, and *'āmils* which are also found mostly in the works of Ibn al-Jauzī and Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī, continuing them to his own time These data are indispensable for the history of the administration of Baghdād and Damascus during the 'Abbāsids, Ayyūbids, and Mongols Similarly he is also interested in the changes in the external shape of these cities, the construction and enlargement of mosques, sūqs, schools, hospitals, and other public buildings are, as a rule, carefully recorded He does not neglect the internal life of the Muslim centres either The disputes between the different sects of Islām, between Sunnites, Shī'ites and Rāfiḍīs, as well as the seditions and robberies which were very frequent during the period of the 'Abbāsids, are always remembered in the *Ta'rīkh al-islām* And finally, we can obtain some data on the economic life of both cities in the records on high prices in consequence of drought or other plagues, the prices per *ratl* of the main commodities (bread, flour, meat) are usually indicated Thus the *Ta'rīkh al-islām* is an excellent

work of reference on the local history of Baghdād and Damascus, especially for the later period, to which the works of Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn al-Jauzī and Sibt ibn al-Jauzī do not extend

(*c*) *'Ajā'ib* ("*wonderful events*")

One of the main characteristics of our work is its sometimes very detailed records on strange events and curiosities of the several years In regard to these so-called *'ajā'ib*, adh-Dhahabī proves a good disciple of both Ibn al-Jauzī and Sibt ibn al-Jauzī, to whose works he constantly refers in his narrative Firstly he always mentions the astronomical phenomena the strange sidereal constellations or the appearance of comets. Then he records also meteorological phenomena like violent winds, heavy rains or droughts, and the famines which appeared as a consequence of the latter He also makes it a point to describe earthquakes and the panic called forth by them Thus he gives detailed records of the earthquakes of A H. 460 with reference to Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn al-Qalānisī and as-Ṣābūnī, of A H. 551–2, with reference to Ibn al-Jauzī, and of A H 565 with reference to al-'Ammād al-Kātib and Sibt ibn al-Jauzī His narrative is peculiarly detailed on the year A H. 597, when great famines and elementary plagues occurred in both Egypt and Iraq, while Syria was laid waste by a terrible earthquake. Adh-Dhahabī records all these events in a narrative of seven folio-pages [1] on the authorities of 'Abdallatīf al-Baghdādī, Abū Shāma, Sibt ibn al-Jauzī, and al-Buzūrī, whereas Ibn al-Athīr devotes only some lines to the same events.[2]

And finally, adh-Dhahabī is fond of remembering all kinds of odd events which occurred in the several Muslim cities or provinces and which were "the fun of the fair" of those days With the instinct of a modern journalist, adh-Dhahabī, after relating the political and local events of the several years, does not leave without mention such oddities as the

[1] See the MS of the Bodleian Library (Ury), No 649, fol 179*b*–83

[2] See vol xii, p 112

appearance in Nihāwand of a man practising sorcery (A H. 499), the appearance of an elephant in Damascus (A.H. 610), a man who had ten daughters (A H 643), a Baghdād woman who gave birth to double twins (A H. 646), another woman who gave birth to twins (A H 647), the sinking of seven islands on the authority of the *Ta'rīkh* of al-Mu'ayyad 'Imādaddīn (A H 660), or an elephant-shaped lamb which was brought to the Sultān (A H 663)

Thus the *Ta'rīkh al-islām* is a repository of all sorts of curiosities and gives us an insight also into the events which interested " the man in the street " of Baghdād or Damascus

B *Biographies*

But it is chiefly for its biographical value that the *Ta'rīkh al-islām* has always been referred to and appreciated. Following the example of the *Kitāb al-muntazam* of Ibn al-Jauzī, adh-Dhahabī also gives obituary notices on the persons of some consequence who died in the respective years. These biographical records are far more elaborate and comprise a far greater—on an average six or seven times as large a—part of *Ta'rīkh al-islām* as the *hawādith*, which only appear to be prefixed to them for the sake of completeness and for the preservation of the *ta'rīkh*-character of the work The predominance of the biographical matter of his work can best be seen from its division into classes (*tabaqāt*) of ten years, which is carried through not only in the biographical parts, but also in the general narrative, though, as a rule, the technical term *tabaqāt* was only applied to biographical collections, like the *Ṭabaqāt al-huffāz* or the *Ṭabaqāt al-qurrā* of the same author Thus adh-Dhahabī adopted the system of the *tabaqāt*-works for his *Ta'rīkh al-islām* and retained the chronological division of the subject-matter as a mere subdivision

But, in contrast to the *tabaqāt*-works, the biographies of the *Ta'rīkh al-islām* include not only illustrious men of one *madhhab* only, like the *Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyya* or *Ṭabaqāt*

*al-Ḥanbaliyya* of different authors, nor prominent people of one vocation only like the biographical collections on poets or scholars, but *all* sorts of people belonging to *all* the four *madhhabs* of the Sunnite Islām or to the Shī'ites, though, as a matter of course, preference is given to the *madhhab* of adh-Dhahabī, the Shāfi'ites

These biographical records include in alphabetical order all sorts of people, thus —

(1) All the caliphs and minor rulers as well, whose succession to the throne or death are generally remembered briefly also in the general narrative A particular advantage of the *Ta'rīkh al-islām* is that the caliphs of the Spanish and Maghribī Islām are as well recorded as those of the East, among whom the biographies of the Ayyūbid and Seljūq rulers especially deserve our attention

(2) The wazīrs, generals, and high officials (*amīrs, 'āmils, wālīs*)

(3) The theologists and jurisconsults (*qādīs, faqīhs*) of all the *madhhabs.*

(4) The scholars other than theologists

(5) The poets

The biographies vary in length from the mere mention of names to the very detailed biographical records on the most celebrated people, these latter also narrate some episodes of their lives The style of adh-Dhahabī's records is the same as that of Ibn al-Jauzī's First comes the full name of the deceased person (*'ālam, kunya, laqab*), then follow the date and place of his birth, appearance, and short characterization (of the more important men only), the names of his masters and of those who studied with him and reported on him, his career, the opinions of the leading authorities concerning him, an enumeration of his literary works, the date and place of his death, and possibly also the place of his burial. In the biographies of poets many quotations, even poems in full length, are frequently included in the records

Adh-Dhahabī, in compiling the biographies of the

**celebrities** of seven centuries, rendered an invaluable service to posterity and in the first place to the scholars of Arabic literature and the history of Islām who so often need data regarding prominent figures of Muslim past. There is no better evidence of the great biographical value of the *Ta'rīkh al-islām* than the fact that some of the biographical abstracts made from it by adh-Dhahabī himself were known earlier than the original works. If it has been necessary to edit the short recensions of the work the *Kitāb duwal al-islām*, the *Ṭabaqāt al-ḥuffāẓ*, or the *Tajrīd fī asmā as-sahāba*, it would undoubtedly be important to publish the *Ta'rīkh al-islām*, too, either as a whole or at least its latter half treating the years A H 301–700, for which period we have no other work of the same kind, comprising in itself both the political history and the biographies of these four eventful centuries of Muslim history

### THE SOURCES OF THE *TA'RĪKH AL-ISLĀM*

The *Ta'rīkh al-islām*, like many other Arabic works on general history, is a compilation of all sorts of data excerpted by its author from a vast number of sources In reading the manuscripts of the work one has to acknowledge adh-Dhahabī's great versatility in many branches of Arabic literature, especially in history, *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, and poetry There is hardly any important work in these branches which was not consulted by him In addition, he was careful in collecting his data concerning one event from *all* the sources available for him, which he always quoted conscientiously Though, as we have seen, he was reprimanded for a certain bias even by one of his most famous disciples, yet his reliability becomes evident by reading the *Ta'rīkh al-islām* hand in hand with the sources referred to by him where this is feasible Such a comparison proves his reliability in excerpting other works, which enables us to obtain trustworthy references to and extracts from works non-extant or data on authors unknown to us Even if in reading the *Ta'rīkh al-islām* we

come across such indefinite references as "*wa qāla ghayruhu*" ("and it was said by somebody else"), these are not disturbing either, because the sources can well be deduced even in these cases from the context of the passage in question.

Thus the *Ta'rīkh al-islām* is an almost inexhaustible repository of earlier historical, biographical, and theological literature. In examining the authorities consulted by adh-Dhahabī we can fairly well see which authorities were in common use at this time. First there were four sources of primary importance on general history —

(1) The *Ta'rīkh ar-rusul wal-mulūk* of at-Ṭabarī for the general narrative of the first three centuries A H, the common use of which was so well-known that adh-Dhahabī did not trouble to refer to it, and could forego the detailed record of the events of this period

(2) The *Al-kāmil fit-ta'rīkh* of Ibn al-Athīr is his main source for the years A H. 301–628 of the general narrative. His name is nearly always mentioned.

(3) The *Kitāb al-muntazam wa multaqat al-multazam fī akhbār al-mulūk wal-umam* of Ibn al-Jauzī was doubtless the most important source of adh-Dhahabī, not so much on political history as on the local history of Baghdād, on the *'ajā'ib* and on the biographical matter generally, and on the obituary notices on prominent Baghdād people especially for the period A H 302–597 We may justly call adh-Dhahabī the most distinguished disciple of Ibn al-Jauzī, from whose work he borrowed the whole system of his *Ta'rīkh al-islām* [1]

The importance attributed by him to the *Kitāb al-muntazam* can be seen also from his constant references for A H 575–631 to a hitherto unknown continuation of it by a certain Abū Bakr Mahfūz ibn Ma'tūq ibn abī Bakr ibn 'Umar al-Baghdādī ibn al-Buzūrī, who according to him,[2] wrote a supplement to the *Kitāb al-muntazam*

[1] He also remembers in the general narrative of A H 597 that it was in that year that the *Kitāb al-muntaẓam* ended (see the MS of the Bodleian Library (Ury), No 649, fol 148*b*, l 7)

[2] See ibid., fol 148*b*, ll. 9–10.

(4) The *Kitāb mir'āt az-zamān fī ta'rīkh al-a'yān* of Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī was used (1) for the general narrative of the years A.H 629–54, i.e. from the time on where Ibn al-Athīr's work ends, (2) for the local history of Syria and especially of Damascus regarding which Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī is as reliable an authority as his grandfather is on the local history of Mesopotamia and of Baghdād especially, (3) for the *'ajā'ib*, which occurred in Syria

Concerning what may be styled the lesser authorities of adh-Dhahabī, for the history of the Ayyūbids he used most the *Kitāb ar-rauḍatayn fī akhbār ad-daulatayn* of Abū Shāma and the *Kitāb mufarrij al-kurūb fī akhbār Banī Ayyūb* of Ibn Wāṣil For the history of the Mongols he made use of the *Sīrat as-Sultān Jalāladdīn Manqūbirtī* of an-Nasawī, and a hitherto unknown report of the famous Baghdād physician and scientist 'Abdallatīf al-Baghdādī, whose history and geography of Egypt are well known to scholars

On the following pages we give an enumeration of the sources used by adh-Dhahabī in the general narrative of his work, excluding at-Tabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn al-Jauzī, and Sibt ibn al-Jauzī [1] As for his biographies, it is almost impossible to give a short synopsis of adh-Dhahabī's authorities, so many are his references and quotations. Besides the works also used for his general narrative, it is chiefly the great biographical collections of Ibn Najjār, Ibn 'Asākir, al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, Ibn Khallikān, and as-Sam'ānī that he mentions most frequently in his obituary notices

Our list gives evidence of the scientific value of the *Ta'rīkh al-islām*, which has been considered an excellent symposium of Islāmic lore by all the famous later authors Thus Muhammad ibn Shākir al-Kutubī in his *'Uyūn at-tawārīkh*, al-Yāfi'ī in his *Mir'āt al-janān wa 'ibrat al-yaqzān*, and

[1] The works of reference consulted are the *Tabaqāt al-huffāẓ* of the same adh-Dhahabī in the well known recension of as-Suyūṭī, the works of Ibn Khallikān, as-Sam'ānī and Hājī Khalīfa

al-'Aynî in his *Iqd al-jumān fī ta'rīkh az-zamān* all drew a great deal on adh-Dhahabī's work.

*Ibn al-Abbār* (died in 658/1260) A.H. 633 (Spain)

Al-imām *Aḥmad* (perhaps Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, died in 241/855). A.H. 429

*Usāma ibn Munqidh* (died in 584/1188). A H 494 (Seljūqs).

*Abū Ishāq as-Ṣābī* (died in 385/994) A.H. 369 (a *qaṣīda*)

*Ibn Isrā'īlī.* A H. 648.

Hibatallāh ibn Ahmad *ibn al-Akfānī* (according to *Ibn Khall.*, vol i, p 252 and vol. iii, p 320, note he died in 523/1129) A H 469

*Alyasa* ibn Khadm (mentioned in *Ibn Khall*, vol iii, p 574) A H 485 (Andalusia)

Al-Qāḍī abū Bakr ibn *al-Bāqillānī* (died in 403/1012) *Kitāb kashf al-asrār al-Bāṭiniyya* (See *Hājī Khalīfa*, No. 10,655.) A H 322

*Ibn Bākūya ash-Shīrāzī* (died in 442/1050) A H 309

*Ibn al-Buzūrī* (according to the MS of the Bodleian Library, vol i, No 649, fol 148*b*, ll 9–10, his name is abū Bakr Mahfūz ibn Ma'tūq ibn abī Bakr ibn 'Umar al-Baghdādī ibn al-Buzūrī, "he supplemented the *Muntazam* in many volumes") A H 575, 582–4, 586–8, 591, 593–4, 597, 599, 631. (Local events and *'ajā'ib* of Baghdād )

Abul-Fath *al-Bustī* (died in 401/1010) A H 392

Al-Mukhtār *Butlān* (died in 455/1063) A H 446

*Ibn at-Tursī* (at-Tūnisī ? Perhaps identical with Hilāl as-Ṣābī) A H 413

*Abū Tammām* (died in 230/845) A H 395. (A poem )

*At-Tamīmī* A H. 575

*At-Tanūkhī* (1) Al-Qāsim at-Tanūkhī A H 302, 312, 352, 356 (Būyides) (2) Ahmad ibn Yūsuf at-Tanūkhī A H 309. (3) Ibn al-Muhsin at-Tanūkhī (died in 384/994) A H 330

*Ibn Tūmart* (died after 524/1130) A H 554

*Thābit ibn Sinān* (died in 365/975, his history was continued by Hilāl as-Ṣābī) A H 301, 309, 314, 317, 320, 322, 324, 326, 329, 333, 351–2

Abū Manṣūr 'Abdallāh ibn Muhammad *ath-Tha'ālibī* (died in 429/1038). A H 366, 388.

Shamsaddīn *al-Jazarī* (died in 710/1311) *Ta'rīkh* A H 652, 659 (Tatars)

An-Nasāba Muhammad ibn As'ad *al-Jawānī* (died in 588/1192) A H 583 (A poem)

*Ibn al-Jauzī* (certainly a descendant or relative of Sibt ibn al-Jauzī) A H 658

'Alī ibn Ahmad *al-Hāsib* A H 309

Sa'daddīn ibn Mas'ūd *ibn al-Hamawīyya al-Juwaynī* al-Kāzarūnī (died in 758/1357) A H 616, 640, 642–5, 647–8, 655–6, 664 (Ayyūbids, Tatars)

*Hātim* the poet A H 586

Al-Muwaffaq abul-Ma'ālī al-Qāsim *ibn abil-Hudayd*, A.H 632

Al-Qādī *abul-Husayn* (certainly abul-Ḥusayn ar-Rāzī al-Ḥāfiz al-Imām Muhaddith ash-Shām Muhammad ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Ja'far ibn 'Abdallāh ibn al-Junayd, see *Ṭab. Huff*, xii, 16, according to which he died in 348/959–60). A H 322

*Ibn Hamdān* aṭ-Ṭabīb (perhaps Ibn Ḥamdān al-Ḥāfiz al-Majūl abū Tāhir Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn 'Alī ibn Hamdān al-Khurāsānī, see *Ṭab Huff*, xiii, 69) A H 332

*Al-Humaydī* (certainly the Andalusian abū 'Abdallāh Muhammad ibn abī Nasr who died in 488/1095 and was the author of the *Kitāb jadhwat al-muqtabis fī dhikr wulāt al-Andalus*) A H 372 (Andalusia)

*Ibn Hauqal* (lived in the fourth century A H) A.H. 309

*Abū Hayyān* Athīraddīn (died in 745/1345) A.H 633 (Spain)

Muhammad ibn 'Alī *al-Khurāsānī* A H 322

Abul-Ḥasan Muhammad ibn Nāfi' *al-Khuzā'ī*. A H 340.

Abū Bakr *al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī* (died in 403/1071) A H 309, 329, 381

*Ibn Khallikān* (died in 681/1282) A H 322, 660

*Ad-Dāraqutnī* (died in 385/995) A H 306

Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn 'Alī ibn al-Qāsim *adh-Dhahabī*

(perhaps identical with the adh-Dhahabī mentioned in *Ṭab. Huff.*, xi, 18, who died in 314/926–7) *Ta'rīkh* A H. 317.

Ibn Ṣabbāh *az-Zubaydī*. A H. 699

Abul-Ḥasan *az-Zaynabī* (mentioned in the *Kitāb al-ansāb*, p 284*b*) A H. 420.

Tājaddīn abul-Ḥasan *ibn as-Sā'ī* (died in 674/1275). A H 622, 625, 644, 647–8, 654 (Crusades, Mongols).

*Sa'dallāh.* A.H 639 (Mongols )

*As-Sullamī* (died in 412/1021) *Ta'rīkh as-Ṣūfiyya* (perhaps identical with the anonymous work of the same title mentioned in *Ibn Khall*, No 2246). A H. 309, 311

*As-Simnānī* *Ta'rīkh.* A H 317

Abul-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Abdarrahmān *as-Sinjābī* A H 500.

*Ibn ash-Shāri'ī* A H 623

Shihābaddīn 'Abdarrahmān ibn Ismā'īl *abū Shāma* (died in 665/1268) A H 579, 589, 591–3, 597, 601, 605, 608–30, 661 (Ayyūbids )

'Izzaddīn *ibn ash-Shaddād* (died in 684/1285) A H 563, 583, 584–5, 587 (*Sīrat Salāḥaddīn*), 658

Bahāaddīn Yūsuf *ibn ash-Shaddād* A H 563

'Alī ibn Muhammad *ash-Shimshāṭī* (contemporary of Sayfaddaula, see *Yāqūt*, vol iii, p 320, *Fihrist*, p 154) *Ta'rīkh* A H. 351.

*Ash-Shihāb* Mahmūd Ibqā Allāh A H 671 (A poem )

*As-Sābūnī* (probably Mahmūd ibn abī Bakr aṣ-Ṣābūnī al-Bukhārī, author of the *Kitāb al-kifāya fil-hidāya*, died in 580/1184) A H. 460

*Ibn as-Sābī* (son of Hilāl ibn al-Muhassin as-Ṣābī, see *Ibn Khall*, vol iii, p 628, *al-Qiftī* *Ta'rīkh al-hukamā*, ed Lippert p 110) A H 466

Abū Bakr *as-Ṣūlī* (died in 335/946). A H. 305, 309, 320, 322, 329

*Ibn abī Ṭayy* (died in 630/1232) A.H. 569, 571

Abū 'Umar *az-Zalimnakī* (according to *Ṭab. Huff*, xiii, 63, died in 429/1037–8) A H. 342

*Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi* (died in 328/940). A H 350.

Majdaddīn *ibn 'Abdazzāhir* (died in 692/1292). *Sīrat al-Malik az-Zāhir*. A H 666, 673–4

*'Abdaljabbār* ibn Ahmad ibn 'Abdaljabbār *al-Basrī* (according to *Hājī Khalīfa*, No 7925, al-Asadābādī, died in 415/1024) A H 322

*'Abdallatīf al-Baghdādī* (died in 629/1231) A H 575, 582, 585, 597, 605 (*Khabar at-Tatār*), 617, 627

An-Nasr Muhammad ibn 'Abdaljabbār *al-'Utbī* (died in 427/1036) *Sīrat as-Sultān Mahmūd* A H 400, 409

*'Alī ibn 'Abdal'azīz* (see *Hājī Khalīfa*, No 2240) A H 370

Abū Mansūr ibn 'Abdal'azīz *al-'Ukbarī* A H 363

*Al-'Ammād al-Kātib* A H 563, 565–7, 569, 576, 583–4, 589, 673

Al-Qāḍī *'Iyād* ibn Mūsā al-Yahsubī (died in 544/1149). A H 334

*Al-Ghazālī* (died in 505/1111) *Sirr al-'ālamayn* A H 494

Muhammad ibn Muhammad *al-Fārisī* *Ta'rīkh* A H 601

Shamsaddīn Muhammad *ibn al-Fakhr* (perhaps identical with *al-Jazarī*, see above) A H 670

Abū Ja'far Ahmad ibn 'Aunallāh *al-Qurtubī* A H 342

Abul-Qāsim *al-Qushayrī* (died in 465/1074) A H 445

*Qutbaddīn* (perhaps the astronomer Qutbaddīn ash-Shīrāzī who died in 710/1312) *Ta'rīkh* A H 658–9, 666–9, 675- (Damascus)

Abū Ya'lā Ḥamza ibn *al-Qalānisī* (died in 555/1160, continuator of the chronicle of Hilāl ibn al-Muhassin as-Ṣābī) A H 460, 469, 491, 492, 554

Al-Ḥasan ibn Muhammad *al-Qīlawī* al-Fāḍil al-Kātib (according to *Sibt ibn al-Jauzī* *Mir'āt az-zamān*, ed Jewett, p 460, died in 633/1235–6) *Ta'rīkh* A H 450, 571

*Mahmūd al-Isfahānī* (died in 749/1348) A H 317, 322

*Majdaddīn* Muhammad ibn 'Abdallāh *Qādī at-Taur* A H 616 (A poem)

Muhammad ibn ar-Rabī' ibn Sulaymān *al-Marāghī* A H 317

*Al-Musabbihī* (died in 420/1029) A H 301, 335, 339 (Fāṭimids)

*Al-Mas'ūdī* (died in 345–6/956–7) A H. 311, 322, 333

Jamāladdīn *ibn Matrūḥ* (died in 649/1251–2). A H 648. (A poem)

*Al-Mu'ayyad* 'Imādaddīn al-Kātib al-Isfahānī (died in 597/1201) *Ta'rīkh* A.H 615, 660

Musharraf *al-Maqdisī* (certainly identical with Ibn Hilāl al-Maqdisī, author of the *Muthīr al-Gharām ilā ziyārat al-Quds wash-Shām*, who died in 744/1314) A H 364

Abul-Ḥusayn ibn Muhammad *al-Minādī* A H 309

*An-Nadhr az-Ziltī* A H 401

*An-Nasawī* (died in 639/1241) *Sīrat as-Sultān Jalāladdīn Manqūbirtī* A H 605, 614–7 (Mongols)

*Ibn Nazīf* (perhaps the author of the *Juz' Ibn Nazīf* mentioned in *Hājī Khalīfa*, No 4028)

Ishāq ibn Ismā'īl *an-Naubakhtī* (perhaps the son of Abū Sahl Ismā'īl ibn 'Alī an-Naubakhtī, who died in 311/923–4). A H 320

*Ibn Wāsil* (died in 697/1298) A H 563, 569, 572, 583, 589, 591, 596, 598, 600, 604, 610, 615–18, 641, 653, certainly from his *Mufarrij al-kurūb fī akhbār Banī Ayyūb* and his *At-ta'rīkh as-Sālihī* (Ayyūbids)

Taqīaddīn Ismā'īl *ibn abil-Yusr* (according to *al-Kutubī Fawāt al-wafayāt*, vol i, pp 11–13, was scribe to Nāsir Dā'ud) A H 656 (A *qasīda*)

*Abū Ya'lā Hamza* ibn 'Abdarrazzāq (mentioned in *Ibn Khallikān*, vol iii, p 426) A H 411, 469 (Egypt)

*Hilāl* ibn al-Muhassin *as-Sābī* (died in 448/1056) A H 369, 381, 413

Muhammad ibn 'Abdalmalik *al-Hamdānī* (died in 521/1127) A H 381

An anonymous *Ta'rīkh al-Qayrawān* (perhaps by Abū 'Alī Ḥasan ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī who died in 463/1070–1 or by Abū 'Abdallaṭīf al-Ḥasanī or by Ibrāhīm ar-Rāfiq, see *Hājī Khalīfa*, No. 2285). A H 322.

## ERRATA

p 859, l 14, *for* Ezekiel xiv, 14 *read* Isaiah xiv, 14

l 27, *for* Ps xcii, 6 *read* Ps lxxxii, 6

p. 862 (I 33), *for* אפס *read* אפסה

(II 17), *after* חר *insert* לכבד

p 864 (III 18), *for* אנח *read* אנכ

p 867 (VI 28), *for* לידהפר *read* לידהפך.

p 892, l 1, *read* [cuneiform]

l. 4, *read* [cuneiform]

*To face p* 857 ]

# "The Combat of Death and the Most High"

## A Proto-Hebrew Epic from Ras-Samra

Transcribed from the Cuneiform Original with Translation and Notes

By THEODOR HERZL GASTER, B A

### Introduction

THE text which is here presented is part of a long mythological poem inscribed in alphabetical cuneiform upon clay tablets found at Ras-Samra This portion of the text was published by Virolleaud in *Syria*, October, 1931, together with a transliteration into Latin characters, a French translation, and brief notes. It is here transliterated into square Hebrew characters, translated into English, and furnished with a commentary Needless to say, this fresh edition owes more than can be adequately expressed to the pioneer work of Virolleaud, whose philological interpretations have been largely adopted It appeared, however, that there was still room for further interpretation of the text along purely mythological lines, and that several allusions could still be explained Moreover, there were quite a few passages where philological treatment from a different angle would seem to throw light upon obscurity In none of these matters can finality be claimed , one can but suggest. And it should especially be remembered that at the moment only one portion of a large text is to hand One may hope that the great French scholar may see his way to letting us have the remainder without undue delay

The text contains a mythological poem written in a language which Virolleaud calls " Phœnician " Certainly, it bears all the characteristic marks of this dialect, but it seems to me safer to give it the name " Proto-Hebrew ", thus avoiding the assumption that these characteristic marks

were necessarily confined to Phœnician The language represents, in fact, an anterior stage to Classical Hebrew. Words which in the latter have already acquired a tropic and metaphorical meaning here retain their original and primary signification, e g רפא means "repair", and not specifically "cure", מחה means "smear", not "blot out" The morphology also is of archaic type, many of the inflectional forms still remaining, e g אדך "behold", with the demonstrative suffix *-k*, לתתן with the original precative prefix

Nor is it any evidence for Phœnician origin that the deities mentioned in our text, e g Dagan, 'Anath, Asherah, figure in the Phœnician pantheon, because these deities were by no means confined to that pantheon, their cultus extended over a very wide area of pre-Israelitic Palestine and Syria It is to be understood, however, that the term "Proto-Hebrew" is a philological and not a chronological one It implies only that the language is in a stage of development anterior to that of classical usage This is the case with many of the Semitic dialects, and does not mean that the text is necessarily anterior in date to the Biblical writings Indeed, I am inclined after careful study, and in view of (*a*) the reference to the Scythians in vi, 17, and (*b*) the parallelism of vi, 28-9, with an idiom of the time of Ahiram, king of Byblos, very much to question the high antiquity claimed for this epic by Virolleaud More than this cannot safely be said at the moment

The poem, so far as we can judge from this short extract, combines two myths, viz (*a*) the Gigantomachia, or fight between rival gods, (*b*) the Death and Resurrection of the Saving-God These two myths are very frequently combined in this manner, especially in the Assyrian Enmešarra-cycle and in the Hittite Telibinuš-legend, the reason being that the Saving-god is identified with one of the protagonists in the combat of the gods In our own version of the story, Elyon Ba'al, deity of fertility, is assailed by Mōth (BH. מָוֶת), deity

of blight and decay, and sent away  Elyon is later restored, through the intervention of other deities, and vanquishes Mōth and his allies, apparently imprisoning them and leaving them to entreat mercy

I have endeavoured to point out in the notes the occurrence of regular motifs which typify these cycles of myths  Especially to be noticed are the following  (*a*) Elyon is called בן נשם (ii, 18), an exact rendering of DUMU ZI = "Tammuz", (*b*) Mōth has seven confederates (vi, 6), like Enmešarra, the Titans, etc , (*c*) if my interpretation is right (ii, 9–11) Mōth is trampled underfoot and bound in a net, like Tiamat and Apsu

I believe we may find a trace of this myth in O T , for in Ezekiel xiv, 14, we read —

ואשב בהר מועד        בירכתי צפון
אעלה על במתי עב   אדמה לעליון

which comports exactly with i, 29–30 of our text  Again, in Col  vi, there are a number of phrases reminiscent of the ancient poem in Deuteronomy xxxiii  These are pointed out in the notes  Lastly, it is significant that the rebellious Mōth is constantly styled בן אלם, for the rebel coterie of Genesis vi are similarly called בני האלהים  These vanquished gods are the *ilâni sabtuti* (or *kamuti*) of Assyrian, and the bound *Τιτᾶνες* of Greek mythology  They are the "fallen angels" in contrast to the victorious hosts of 'Elyon  I believe that there is an allusion to this contrast in that baffling verse Ps. xcii, 6 —

אמרתי אלהים אתם
ובני עליון כלכם
אכן כאדם תמותון
וכאחד השרים תפלו׃

But the connection of our myth with legends alluded to in O T can hardly be determined until we have the complete text.

It is my intention to pursue this study further as soon as the remainder is published

Here I will add only one remark, and that is to say how much all workers in this field must owe in gratitude not only to Virolleaud, but equally to Professor Hans Bauer, without whose brilliant and courageous decipherment of the alphabet little progress could have been made.

TRANSCRIPTION

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 𐎀 | אַ | 𐎍 | ל |
| 𐎛 | אִ | 𐎎 | מ |
| 𐎜 | אֻ | 𐎐 | נ |
| 𐎁 | ב | 𐎝 or 𐎒 | ס |
| 𐎂 | ג | 𐎓 | ע |
| 𐎄 | ד | 𐎔 | פ |
| 𐎅 | ה | 𐎕 | צ |
| 𐎆 | ו | 𐎖 | ק |
| 𐎇 | ז | 𐎗 | ר |
| 𐎈 | ח | 𐎌 | ש |
| 𐎃 | חׄ | 𐎏 | ש |
| 𐎙 | ח? | 𐎚 | ת |
| 𐎉 | ט | | |
| 𐎊 | י | | |
| 𐎋 | כ | | |

The value of 𐎙, here given as ח?, after Virolleaud, is uncertain

TEXT IN HEBREW CHARACTERS

[COLUMN I]

· אלאין בעל

חה פשתכם ע

·· זרה יכם לאלם[1]

4 [אד]ך[2] לתתן פנם[3] עם
אל מבך[4] נהרם קרב
[א]פק תהמתם[5] תגלי שד[6]
אֹל ותבאׄ קרש[7]
מלך אב שנם לפנ
אֹל תהבר ותקל[8]
10 תשתחוי ותכבדנה
תשאׄ גה[9] ותצח תשמחׄ הת[10]
אשרת ובנה[11] אלת[12] וצב
רת אריה[13] כמת אלאין
בעל כחׄלק זכל בעל
15 ארץ גם יצח אֹל
לרבת אשרת ים[14] „שמע
לרבת אשרת ים, תן
אחד בבנם[15] כאמלכנ“
ותען רבת אשרת ים
20 „בל נמלך ידע ילטן“[16]
ויען לטפן אֹלודפ]אׄ[17]
ד „דק אנם[18] לירף[19]
עם בעל ליעדב[20] מרח
עם בן דגן[21] כתמסח“[22]
25 ותען רבת אשרת ים
„בלת נמלך עשתר־ערף[23]
ימלך עשתר־ערף
אפנך[24] עשתר־ערף
יעל בצררת צפן[25]
30 ישב לכחש[26] אֹלאׄין
בעל פנה לתמחן?[27]
הדם[28] ראׄש לימחי[29]

20 ילחן Virolleaud

24 כתממם Virolleaud

אפס“[30] ויען עשתר־ערף
„לאמלך בצררת צפן,“
35 ירד עשתר־ערף, ירד
לכחש אלאין בעל
וימלך בארץ אל כלה

ישאבן ברחבת[31]
[ע]אבן בככנת[31]

[COLUMN II]

ל
ול
כד
כד ת
5 יעתקן ו
תנגשה[32] כלב א[33]
לעגלה כלב שא[34]
לאמרה כמ לב ענת[35]
אשר[36] בעל תאחד מ[ת]
10 כסאן[37] לפש[38] תשצק[39]
בקין[40] אלל[41] תשא גה ו[תצ]
ח „את מת תן אחי“
ו<י>ען בן אלם מת „מה
תארשן לבתלת ענת
15 אן אתלך[42] ואצד כל
חר[43] ארץ כל גבע
לכבד[44] שדם נפש חסרת[45]
בן נשם נפש המלת[46]
ארץ מחת[47] לנעמי ארץ
20 דבר[48] יסמת[49] שד שחל ממת

6 א[רח] 7 שא[ת]

נגש[50] אנכ אלאין בעל[51]
עדבנג אנכ אמר[52] בפי[52]
כללא[53] בשבר[53] נקי[53] חתאה[53] ו
נרת אלם[54] שפש[55] צחררת[56]
25 לא שמם[57] ביד בן אלם מת
ים ימם יעתקן לימם
לירחם <י>רחם[58] ענת תנגשה
כלב ארח לעגלה כלב
שאת לאמרה כמ לב
30 ענת אשר בעל תאחד
בן אלם מת בחרב
תבקענג[59] בחשר[60] תדר
נג[61] באשת[62] תשרפנ
ברחם תטחננ[63] בשד
35 תדרעננ[64] שארה לתאכל
עצרם מנתה לתכלי
נפר [65] [ש]אר לשאר יצח[66]

[COLUMN III]

(*Lacuna valde deflenda*)

כחלק
והם[67] חי א[לאין בעל]
והם אש[68] זבל ב[על ארץ]
כחלם לטפך־אלדפאד
5 „בשרת בני[69] בנות[69]
שמם שמן תמטרן
נחלים תלך נבתם[70]
ואדע[71] כחי[72] אלאין בעל
כאש[72] זבל בעל ארץ

37 נפר[ם] supplendum    23 ו[תען] supplendum

10 [73] [ובחלם לטפן־אלדפאד
בשרת בני בנות
שמם שמן תמטרן
נחלים תלך נבחם"][73]

שמח לטפן־אלדפאד
15 פנה להדם ישפד[74]
ויפרק לצב[74] ויצחק
ישא גה ויצח
„אשבן אנח ואנח
ותנח בארתי[75] נפש[76]
20 כחי אלאין בעל
כאש זבל בעל ארץ"
גם יצח אל לבתלת
ענת „שמע לבתולת ענ[ת],
רגם[77] לנרת אל<ם> שפ[ש]

[Column IV]

1 פל[79] ענת[80] שדם ישפש,[78]
פל[79] ענת[80] שדם אל ישתכ[ן][81]
בעל ענת מחרשת[82]
אי אלאין בעל
5 אי זבל בעל ארץ
תתבע[83] בתלת ענת
אדך[2] לתתן פנם[3]
עם נרת אלם שפש
תשא גה ותצח
10 תחם[84] שר אל[85] אבך
הות[86] לטפן[87] חתך[88]
פל[79] ענת שדם ישפש[78]

in tabula אל 24

forsan sint delenda 10–13

פלי[79] ענת[80] שדם אל י[שתכן][81]
בעל ענת מחרשת[82]
15 אי אלאין בעל
אי זבל בעל ארץ"
ותען נרת אלם ש[פש]
„שדיך[89] עך[90] ב קבי[91]
בלית[92] על אמתך[93]
20 ואבקש אלאין בעל"
ותען בתלת ענת
„אן לאן ישפש
אן? לאן אל יקר
תחרך ש
25 ישתד
·ר
כ

[COLUMN V]

יאחד בעל בן אשרת
רבם[94] ימחץ בכתפ[95]
··כים[96] ימחץ בצמד[97]
צחר[98] מת ימצא[99] לארץ
5 [100] לכסא מלכה
לכחש[26] הרכ[ת]ה[101]
י[עתקן][102] לירחם לירחם
לשנת בשבע[103]
שנת והן בן אלם מת
10 עם אלאין בעל ישא

18 קבת[ך] Virolleaud.
23 יקר[א ?] Virolleaud incertae [illegible] קר litterae.

ם   ב   גה ויצח „עלך
פחת   עלך [105] קלת, [104] פהת
דרי בחרב, עלך
פהת שרף בנאושת, [62]
15 עלך [פהת טח]ן ברח
ם, עלך פהת   ח   ברת,
עלך פהת   [106 ה]
בשדם, עלך פהת
דרע בים   ן ר(?)
20 באחר [107] אספ [107] וישב
אם   אף דנן [107]
ל   אחד בא
אחפ   הן
אכל   מ
25 כלי המל
א   על   ו
ש
בל

[COLUMN VI]

כדה
ע]רשה
כא

5 מת
ר לאמם
ב]ן אלם, מת
אשבעת חלמה [108]
בן אלם מת
10 [109] פ ן אחים יתן בעל

16 ת (?) ברת Virolleaud   19 ן ו (?) Virolleaud

[110]לפאי בנם אמי כלי"
ישב עם בעל צררת
צפן ישא גה ויצח
אחים יתנת[111] בעל
15 לפאי בנם אמי כל
יי יתען כגמרם[112]
מת עז בעל עז ינגחן[113]
כראמם מת, עז בעל
עז ינשכן כבשנם[114]
20 מת, עז בעל עז ימצחן[115]
כלסמים,[116] מת, קל
בעל קל עלן[117] שפש
תצח למת שמע מע[118]
לבן אלם מת אך תמתח
25 ין[119] עם אלאין בעל,
אך אל ישמעך שר
אל אבך ל יסע[120] אלת[121]
שבתך ליהפר כסא מלכך[122]
לישבר חט משפטך[123]
30 ירד בן אלמת[124] שתע[125] י
דד אל חז[ר] יער מת
בקלה י
בע[ל] יששבנ ..
מלכה ל
35 דרכתה
. נ
. ·ען הג
. ·שנת

23 מע dittogr?
31 חז[ר] supplevit Virolleaud.
33 [לכמא] ipse suppleam.
34 [לכחש] ad finem suppleam.
35 [לימם לירחם | (36) לירחם לש]נ[ת equidem suppleam

PROVISIONAL TRANSLATION

[COLUMN I]

Elyon Baal,
his
his he to the gods.
Now turn thy face unto El,
Who maketh the currents to flow
Amid the streams of the deeps
Find out the mountain of El,
And come in to the throne of the King,
The Father of all men's years,
Then in the presence of El
Slice thou the meats and roast them,
Bow down and render Him homage
Then lift up voice and speak,
Make glad Asherath and her son,
Allath and the throng of her lions!"

Whenas Elyon was dead,
And Zebul, the Land's Baal, was gone,
Then did El take up word
With the Queen Asherath of the Sea,
Saying "Hear, Asherath of the Sea,
Render me one of thy sons,
That I may appoint him king"
But the Queen made answer to him,
E'en Asherath of the Sea,
"Nay, we shall make none king
Save one that knoweth "
Then LTPN ELDPD' replied
"Let now Duq-Anum prepare,
Let him, with Baal, prepare unguent,
Yea, even with Ben-Dagon,
That thou mayest make the annealment!"
Then did the Queen make answer,

E'en Asherath of the Sea :
" None shall we set as king
Save Ishtar-'arif alone ,
Ishtar-'arif shall be king !
Behold, let now Ishtar-'arif
Go up to the height (?) of the North,
Sit on Elyon Baal's throne
His face shall ye smear with blood ,
Yea, from the crown of his head
To the sole of his foot be he smeared ! "

Then Ishtar-'arif took up word
" Surely, I will be king,
There in the height (?) of the North ! "
So Ishtar-'arif went forth,
Went to Elyon Baal's throne,
And reigned o'er the whole land of El
We caroused (?) in the open places,
We caroused (?) in the closed chambers (?)

[COLUMN II]

*(Some fragmentary lines)*

So Anath set a prowling hound
To assail the herds of calves.
She set a raging hound
To assail the flocks of sheep
After the Wish of Anath
The consort of Baal
She laid her grasp upon MOTH,
Trampled beneath her shoe ,
She held him fast in a grip,
Bounden within a net ,
She lifted up voice and sp(ake) ,
" Return thou my brother, O MOTH "
But MOTH, the Son of the gods,

Took up answer to her,
"What wouldst thou, Virgin Anath?
I will wander and hunt for him
In every hole of the earth
And upon every hill
To the uttermost part of the land,
I will seek this Son of Life-breath
Of life breath which now is failed
Yea, the land's life breath which is vanished,
Yet shall it be of my grace
That the land which is now waste prairie
A very desert place,
As another Elyon Baal
I, even I, will repair it
Myself shall be as the saying
In the mouth of the vulgar (?)
"With bruising, though guiltless, was he maimed (?)."
And Sps (joined in the word),
– Even that Light of the Gods
"The lands unbedew'd of the heavens
Lie in the hand of Moth,
Even the son of the gods,
He shall yet cause them to thrive
For days upon days upon days,
Yea, and for months upon (m)onths!"

So 'Anath fetched a wandering hound
To assail the herds of calves
She brought a ravening hound
To assail the herds of sheep,
According to the wish of 'Anath
The consort of Ba'al
She seized that son of the gods,
Even Moth,
With a sword she ripped him up,
In a sieve she scattered him,

With fire she burned him ;
In a mill she ground him ;
O'er the field she scattered his flesh
To be as food for the birds,
Yea, a meed of food for the sparrows ,
. Flesh everywhere met flesh

[COLUMN III]

*(Lacuna valde deflenda)*

seeing that now he is gone
And shall Elyon Baal yet live ?
Shall Zebul, the land's lord, come to life ? "
A dream there was, and one spake
To LTPN ELDPD' and said
"Mark thou well my good tidings ,
The heavens shall yet rain fatness,
Produce shall flow in streams ,
Know thus Elyon Baal yet lives,
Zebul, the land's lord, comes to life ! "[1]
Then LTPN ELDPD' rejoiced ,
His countenance flushed (?) ,
He brake [all] restraint and he laughed ,
He lifted up voice and he spake
"I shall yet sit and have rest,
Life-breath shall yet lie in my stall,
For that Elyon Baal lives,
Zebul, the land's lord, is alive ! "
EL also took up a word
And spake to the Virgin 'Anath
"Hearken, O Virgin Anath,
Tell this forth to SPS,
E'en to that Light of the Gods

[1] The text here repeats ll 4–7 I think this is an error

[COLUMN IV]

The streams that flow from the fountains
Now are anointing the fields,
The streams that flow from the fountains
Are preparing the fields of EL
That Lord of the founts, of the plough-lands,
Where then is Elyon Baal,
Where is Zebul, the land's lord ?
O Virgin, Anath, do thou hasten,
Straightway do thou turn thy face
To SPS, the Light of the Gods,
Lift up thy voice and say
Thy sovran father EL
Hath determined, yea LTPN hath precised [an] indication (?)
That the streams which flow from the fountains
Now are anointing the fields,
That the streams which flow from the fountains
Are pr(eparing) the fields of EL
That lord of the founts, of the plough-lands,
Where now is he—Elyon Baal ?
Where now is Zebul, the land's lord ? "

Then did SPS make answer,
Even that Light of the Gods,
" Pour sparkling wine in thy ch(amber ?),
Hang garland(s) upon thy threshold,
And I will seek Elyon-Baal "

Then the Virgin Anath made answer
" Whither is he taken himself
Who is now anointing (the fields) ?
Whither has he taken himself

(? ?)

Thou

whenas (? ? ?)

[COLUMN V]

BA'AL, the son of Asherah
Took them in his grasp,
Mighty ones he smote on the shoulder,
[Resp]lendent ones he smote on the collar
MOTH, the effulgent one,
He brought to earth
(? He went up) to the throne of the king
On his platformed seat (?) he sat
For days, and for months upon months,
For years (upon years)—
—Seven years

Thereafter, behold MOTH,
The son of the Gods, took up word
And spake with Elyon Ba'al.
"In thy hand lies ,
Thy province it is to assail,
Thy province to hew by the sword,
Thy province to burn with fire,
Thy province to grind in the mill,
Thy province (to shake in a sieve),
Thy province to strew o'er the field,
Thy province to strew o'er the sea
Turn back the (blast of thy spirit),
And let the wrath of our judgment be turned,
He(reafter I will ?) to (?) ,
Behold, I will
(? ? ? Cast not our bones forth as carrion
for the fowl of the heavens to eat,
and the beasts to devour ? ? ?)
And on
(?)
Let not (?)

The rendering in the last lines is based on a purely conjectural restoration of the text The source of it is a combination of the ductus litterarum with the end of Column II. I presume that Moth here entreats mercy from his captor.

[COLUMN VI]

*(Ll 1–9 are fragmentary)*

Verily, brotherhood is a gift of Baal,
Sooth, all the peoples
Are but as sibs in a clan (?)"

He sat with Baal on the height (?)
of the North,
He lifted up voice and spake
"Brotherhood is a gift of Baal,
Sooth, all the peoples
Are but as sibs in a clan (?)
Now doth he smite us like the Scythians, O MOTH,
Yea, the might of Baal
Is a might which gores us like wild oxen, O MOTH,
The might of Baal is a might
Which bites us like beasts of Bashan, O MOTH,
The might of Baal is a might
Which assails us like springing beasts, O MOTH,
The voice of Baal is a voice
Whch issueth forth against us"

Then SHAPASH spake to MOTH
"Hearken, O MOTH, son of the gods,
Why didst thou assail Elyon Baal?
Lo, now he heedeth thee not
My lord, thy father EL?
Lo, he now doth uproot
The foundation of thine abiding,
He annulleth the throne of thy kingship,
He breaketh thy sceptre of judgment .

*(Reliqua fragmentula)*

## NOTES TO THE TEXT

[1] Fragmentary and unintelligible

[2] אדך is an adverb Virolleaud compares Ar اذا "behold" We may go further, and see in the final letter the same suffix as in Aram דך (from דָא), אלך Cf Wright, *Comp Grammar*, 110 This suffix is demonstrative and related to the words כה, כֹּן, etc It may be seen again in Phœn אנך "ego" and in BH. אָנֹכִי beside אני *Vide* אפנך *infra*, i, 28 Cf also Heb כָּך = כָּא + ך, איך = אי + ך, Aram הך = הָא + ך

For the form אד cf Aramaic באדין "at that time, then". The suffix *-k* also appears in Assyrian, cf especially *anna-ka* "in that place, there" Just as כַּך and דך, etc, represent כָּא and דָא, etc + suffix *-k*, so the cognates כן, דן, הן, דכן, etc, represent the demonstratives כָּא, דָא, הָא, etc + the suffix *-n* This disposes of the common derivation of כן "thus" from the root כון Indeed, the NH form כָּאן is alone sufficient to invalidate this, although I would not deny that there is *also* in BH an adverb כן (from כון) meaning "surely" אָכֵן stands in the same relationship to כָּא as does אדך here to דָא

The demonstrative occurs in the form אד on South Arabian inscriptions It is, of course, simply ד with *aleph prostheticum*, and answers to Phœnician אָז which is ז with *aleph prostheticum* BH אָז *then* was originally a locative = "illo (tempore)", cf מֵאָז and its correlative עַד־הֵנָּה = "ab illo usque ad hoc"

[3] לתתן The ל is the precative and affirmative particle = Arabic ل, Assyrian *lù*, and BH לוּ Brockelmann, *V Gr*, ii, 110, Konig, iii, § 271 Haupt sees this emphatic prefix in BH. in Num ix, 15, xxxii, 15, Ezek xiv, 15, Prov xiv, 35

For ל as a precative prefix cf ליחכה Zenjirli, i, 23, 24 למנע, 30 לתנמרו, Sabean ליעתורו, Hommel, *Sudar. Chrest.* 25; Cooke, *NSI*, p 169.

נתן פנם = "address oneself", cf Dan ix, 3, ואתנה את פני אל אדני אלהים Here construed with עם quasi-proleptically = "address thyself and speak with"

[4] מבך Hiph'il participle of בכה used in the primitive sense, as in Arabic بكى "trickle, flow" The word is akin to BH פכה, NH פכפך, cf especially Job xxviii, 11, מבכי נהרות חבש BH שפך is nothing but a primitive Šaf'el Virolleaud takes = מהפך (fait se deverser (?))

[5] תהמתם Archaic fem sing + mimmation Cf Assyrian *tâmtum* and cf נכתם, iii, 7, where the syntax requires a sing

[6] שד Virolleaud takes = BH שדה "field", and certainly Phœn שד "field" occurs (Lidzbarski, 373), but our text prefers the form שדם (iv, i, 12, v, 18) Hence שַׁד is better taken = Assyrian *šadu* "mount" when שד אל will be the Semitic Olympus Sargon, *Annals*, 436, *Prunkinsc* 175, mentions the deity Bêl as living "on the holy hill of the gods" and his consort was anciently called Nin-ḫar-sag "Lady of the great mountain", each of his temples being called "house of the mountain" Cf הר האלהים in Ezekiel xxviii, 14, and especially in xiv, 14 ואשב בהר מועד בירכתי צפון אעלה על במתי עב אדמה לעליון (= לאלאין) The mountain was identified with the haven of departed spirits Cf my note on this subject in the *Jewish Guardian*

[7] קרש Phœn כרם For this interchange cf Wright, 50

[8] Sacrificial termini technici, הבר = Arabic هبر "cut into gobbets" So also (si v 1) BH Is xlvii, 13 The usual expression in BH is נתח (Ex xxix, 17, Lev i, 6, 12, 1 Kings xviii, 23, 33) In the "Hittite" texts the same operation is often mentioned under the term *marka-* = Gk μέργω (Sommer, *BoSt* 10, 20) הבר is akin to Arabic فرى "cut", and by interchange of labials and liquids to BH פלה, פלא, פרר in their primitive meanings קלה = BH id "roast". Cf Lev ii, 14 for the technical sense. *Kalu* "roaster" was

the name of a special priest in Assyrian cultus Cf Aram צלי "roast", which developed into "prayer"

[9] נה "voice" The derivation is obscure, the word is exclusive to our text, recurring at ii, 11, iii, 16, v, 11

[10] הת = את So והם = ואם, iii, 2, 3 Other possible examples are הות = אות, iv, 11, and פהת = פאת, v, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 For interchange of ה and א *vide* Gesenius-Buhl [17], s v ה

For the dialectical interchange of א and ה cf הלו for אלו in *CIS* ii, 137A, 1 (Elephantine, 4th cent B C)

[11] אשרת ובנה Regular figures of the Semitic pantheon, the Mother-Goddess and her son They appear variously as Ishtar and Tammuz, Ḥobal and Dušarra, etc Under the name אשרה the goddess appears in the theophorous name Abd-ashirti of the Tell-el-Amarna letters, and elsewhere *Vide* Lagrange, pp 120–3, Robertson-Smith, *Rel of Semites* [3] (ed Cook), p 561, Garstang, *Syrian Goddess*, p 43

ובנה The very name Tammuz (Dumuzi) means simply "faithful, or legitimate son" (*aplu kênu*, cf υἱὸς γνήσιος, of Attis, in *Schol in Lucian, Jup Trag*, c 8, ii, p 783)

[12] אלת The name is frequent in the inscr, e g *CIS* 182, 183, 170 Cf Robertson-Smith, *Rel of Sem* [3] (ed Cook), p 520 Allath is the al-Lat of the Arabs, another type of the mother-goddess She is a deity of life and fertility and, like other such deities, has also cthonic attributes In Herodotus, iii, 8, she appears as Ἀλιλατ, mother of the *tammuz*, called Orotal In the Assyro-Babylonian pantheon Allatu is wife of Bel (Jastrow, i, 99)

[13] וצברת אריה One is tempted to find in אריה the word for "lion" because chthonic goddesses very often have a lion as their sacred animal *Vide* the mother-goddess riding on a lion, or seated on a throne ornamented with lions (Ward, *Cylinders of Western Asia*, 155, Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p 104, Garstang, *Syrian Goddess*, pp. 22, 70). Lucian, *De dea Syria*, 15, says lions drew Atargatis Kybele,

especially, is associated with lions (Gruppe, 569). Cf. Lucretius, ii, 600 "hanc veteres Graium docti cecinere poetae sedibus in curru bijugos agitare leones" Mên is throned upon lions on coins from Gordos and Prostanna, the Cretan "dea Mater" similarly (Karo, *ARW*, 1904, p. 105), Artemis and Rhea are also accompanied by lions צברת is from rt צבר and has the same development as in NH צבור meaning "throng, group"

The poet pictures the "mountain of God" as peopled by the typical figures of religious art, and selects as examples the Mother and Child—a type known from many Palestinian figurines—and the Mother and her lions

[14] For חלק in this sense cf Assyrian, "Ritual of Bel Marduk," 13 (Langdon, *EoC* p 37) *iḫtiliḳ ina libbi ZI MEŠ* "he perished from among the living"

אשרת ים The Mother-goddess, as being the source of fertility, is invariably associated with the seas and rivers Cf Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p 45 So the Greek Aphrodite is variously described as εἰναλίη, θαλασσαίη, πελαγια, ποντία, etc

For רבת as a title of goddesses cf Cooke, *NSI*, 45, 47, 48, 50, 60, 77*b*

[15] Cf how Tammuz is frequently described as *Dumuzi-abzu* "faithful son of the flowing ocean"

[16] The reading is doubtful, Virolleaud reads ⊢ (ח), but this yields no sense My own reading ⊢ (ט) is little better, and I do not pretend to know what this means A connection with Ethiopic ולט "reconcile" is possible, i e "one versed in the spirit of concord (?)"

[17] I cannot explain this name, it has a definitely non-Semitic appearance, but more it would be unsafe to say The same applies to the name דק אנם in the next line The occurrence of both names in this Semitic epic ought to throw considerable light upon the original sources of it It is worthy of note that at iv, 11 the name לטפן occurs without the complementary אלדפאר

[18] דק אנם. This sounds like a Sumerian name Dug-anum (cf Dug-azag, a king of Lagash, c 2300 B C), the Semitic value would be Damki-ilišu, a name which actually occurs.

[19] לירף Optative from רפא in the primitive sense "repair" as in Arabic وَفَا The word then comes to mean "prepare", as does עדב in the next line Note the apocopated precative as in BH

The verb is here regarded as ל'ה, i e רפה This may be paralleled from *CIS.* i, 143 [2] (Santuiaci, 2nd cent B C) שמע | קלא רפיא = "he heard his voice, he cured him"

For the original sense of רפא, viz "mend", cf English "mend" in the sense "heal", and note the antithesis of רפא and שבר in Psalm cxlvii, 3 הרופא לשבורי לב = lit "who *mendeth* the *broken* at heart"

[20] ליעדב Optative from עדב "repair" = BH עזב in Neh iii, 8 Cf Assyrian *ušezib*, and cf עָזוּב in Deut xxxii, 26 = "rescued" Sabean עדב also means "restore" The word then comes to mean "make anew, prepare" as in Sab ישעדב, and this is its meaning here

[21] בן דגן Cf analogously Bitti-Dagan ("marriage-contract", *PSBA* xxix, 180) and Turi-Dagan (*LC*, 237, 33, *Syria*, '24, 274) = "child (Sum TUR) of Dagan"? But בן may equally well represent the element Bunu- which appears in many East Canaanite names, e g Bunu-ammu, Buni-ilu, Bunu-anati, etc

[22] The reading is doubtful, Virolleaud prefers כתמם and explains from As *kitmusu* (rt *kamašu*) "genuflections", but surely עדב כתמם is a very odd way of expressing this! I have therefore ventured an emendation for ם (מ) read ח (ח), whence we obtain the very apposite כתמסח where the כ = *ut*, as in i, 18, כאמלכנ For the masc form cf. תתבע, *infra*, iv, 6

[23] עשתרערף "Ištar is sagacious (?)" Ištar is very probably masculine in this place

[24] אפנך is an adverb, with suffix -*k* as in אדך, *supra*, i, 4.

The radical element is פן which is akin to BH פנים, whence the prepositions לפני, מפני, cf Assyr *lâpan*, *ina pan* The suffix is demonstrative (*v supra*, ad 1, 4) Thus, אפנך = NH מפני זאת, לפיכך = "therefore" Alternatively, cf Assyrian *appuna*, *vide infra*, n 109

[25] בצררת צפן Virolleaud links this up with the title בעל צפן and thinks that צפן (North) might be a comprehensive name for the entire district over which Ishtar-'rf is to reign Another explanation is possible, as follows צררת צפן may = ירכתי צפון of Hebrew folklore, where was situated the famous "mountain of the Gods" Cf Isaiah xiv, 13 ואשב בהר מועד בירכתי צפון ("And I shall sit enthroned on the Hill of Assembly, in the deep recesses of the North") In Ps xlviii, 3 the poet lyrically compares Mt Zion with this divine hill —

יפה נוף משוש כל הארץ
הר ציון־ירכתי צפון
קרית מלך רב!

("Fair in her height, the joy of all the earth, O Mount Zion, thou very 'recess of the North'—citadel of an emperor" (cf As *šarru rabu*))

בצררת The word is connected with צור and צהר, As *sêru* "roof", Ar طهر, and means "high place"

[25] [A note anent the word צפון may perhaps not be amiss in this place In Job xxvi, 7, we read נטה צפון על תהו, where the meaning "north" scarcely fits I believe the passage can at last be explained from K 8664, Obv 2, which says of the god Ašur *tameih sipi šamê* Sidersky (*JRAS* 1929, p 767, n 2) derives *sipu* from *sapû*, BH צפה "overlay", and takes it to mean "canopy" We may cf BH צָפִית, Syriac ܨܦܝܬܐ of a carpet which is laid out The rt connects with צפה = Ethiopic ጸፍሐ, Arabic صفح "stretch out", and BH טפח, Syr ܛܦܚ Thus צפון means the stretched-out curtain of heaven and comports excellently with נטה.

Cf Psalm civ, 2, נטה שמים כיריעה, and Isaiah xl, 22, הַנּוֹטֶה כַדֹּק שָׁמַיִם

[26] כחש The word recurs at v 6, לכחש דרכו[ת]ה, and is there ||כסאו The derivation is obscure and probably non-Semitic Possibly an Hittite or Anatolian loan-word with the nom ending *-aš* as in פרש "charger", which is an Hittite word חש may even be the Hittite *hassis* "king" and the word would be composite = "seat of a king, throne", but this is quite speculative

[27] לתמחין Optative from מחי in the primitive sense "wipe, smear" (cf Prov xxx, 20, 2 Kings, xxi, 13). Thus, the word comes to mean "anoint" on the analogy of משח

[28] הדם = אדם, cf הת = את, *supra*, i, 10, and note in loc אדם as in Samaritan, cf Aram ܐܕܡ and the Phœnician *edom* quoted by Augustine ad Ps cxxxvi For the custom of anointing new kings with blood in order to impart vigour and "vertue" *vide* Frazer

הדם may also = אֹדֶם and denote some kind of red ochre or similar daub Kings and warriors are frequently so anointed, and it is possible that the characteristic *purpura regum* is connected with this Cf in the Bel-Marduk ritual 15

*ša ina šaplišu iktarribu ša labbušuni muhsi ša mahusu-nišunu, ina damešu* (*surpu*) Sayce has pointed out that *admu* occurs in Assyrian as the name of a royal garment

[29] לימחי = BH לו יִמָּחֶה, optative 3rd sing masc imperf Niph'al of rt מחי "Let him be smeared"

[30] אפס = BH אפס "extremity" Cf אפסי ארץ (which, *pace* GB [17] s v and Clay, has nothing to do with As *apsû* or Gk ἄβυσσος) The word here comports with ראש of the preceding line, a preposition sensu BH וְעַד being understood "From top to toe"

[31] כבנת must have a meaning opposed to רחבת, the juxtaposition having the same meaning as מחוץ . מחדרים in Deut. xxxii, 5. The word may thus = As *gigunu* "bower", which derives from Sumerian GI GUN "secret place".

The word is especially used of the bridal bower in temples where the *ἱερὸς γάμος* took place Its Semitic names were (*a*) *bit irši* "bedchamber", (*b*) *bit hilsi* "place of joy" (cf עלם in a sexual sense, Prov vii, 18), (*c*) *ganunu* "*thalamus*" = Ar גנונא Cf the *θάλαμοι* in the Rhea-cult *Vide* Smith, *JRAS* 1929, pp 849 ff

ישאב = "? we drink" Cf Arabic سَأَبَ Cognate is the Assyrian *sâbu*, BH סבא A description of the revelry attendant upon Ištar-ʿr-f's ascension to the throne "We carouse in the streets, we carouse in the chambers"

[32] תנגשה in a hostile sense, as in BH 2 Samuel, xi, 20 Cf נגש למלחמה and analogously קרב and קרב למלחמה

[33] From ii, 28, *infra*, supply [א]רח For the picture cf Ps xxii, 17, 21, 1 Kings, xiv, 11, xvi, 4, Jer xv, 3 כלב ארח The word ארח, lit "wandering", has a specific sense when applied to animals and means "prowling, roaming abroad" We may recognize this sense, I think, in BH Psalm cxxxix, 3, ארחי ורבעי, where the picture is drawn from the animal world רבעי = רבצי "my crouching in my lair", whilst ארחי gives the contrast "my prowling abroad" Trs "my roaming and my homing Thou hast compassed" So again, I believe, we may explain the famous crux in Isaiah xli, 3 ירדפם יעבר שלום ארח (l אֹרֵחַ) ברגליו לא יבא "He shall put them to flight, he shall travel safe and sound, no prowling beast shall set at his feet"

[34] From ii, 29 *infra*, supply [ת]שא The word is a noun, connected with BH שָׁאוֹן and שׁאָה in the primitive sense "rage" Cf Ethiopic ሰይእ "evil" and Assyrian *šutu* "stormwind" Cf also Num xxiv, 17, בני שת (with pun on Suti = Beduins) = בני שאון in the parallel passage Jer xlviii, 45

[35] ענת A celebrated goddess of the Hebrew pantheon; cf. Anati, *Amarna*, clxx, 43, ענת ביתאל, *APO* 19; vii, 6,

ענתדו, *APO* xxxiii, 3 (so for ענתתיה, 1 Chron. viii, 24 ?). In O T. cf בן ענת, Judges iii, 31 , v, 6 Cf Lagrange, p 413 According to Bertholet (*Hist Hebrew Civilization*, p 65, n. 4) she is not to be identified with Assyro-Bab Antu, wife of Anu

[36] אשר Meaning doubtful , Virolleaud points out that in an unedited text from Ras Samra we read אשר בתלת ענת ובעל, "Sanctuary of Virgin 'Anath and Ba'al," showing that they were σύνεδροι אשר is = Assyr *ašru*, Aram אתר "place ", then "sanctuary " (cf מָקוֹם in BH ), and here is employed by metonomy to mean "sharer of a sanctuary " I believe that we may find an exact parallel in the famous puzzle *CIS* ii, 198, דושרא ומותבה of Nabatean cultus Cf also Sumerian *bara*, primarily "throne" then "lord ", e g vR 46, 7, *umu bara = belu šarru*

[37] בסאן "with a boot" = BH סאון The rt is סאן "trample", whence NH סָיָן mire (on the analogy of רפש from רפיש) I see this meaning in O T in Ps xl, 3, ייעלני מבור שאון מטיט היון

[38] לפש ἅπαξ λεγόμενον By interchange of liquids = רפש cf Arabic رفس, "trample", Assyr *rapasu* We should vocalize *lafôs* = BH לָפוּש (רָפוּש), part pass of Qal conjugation This is exactly the manner in which the god vanquishes Tiamat in the analogous Assyrian myth Cf *Epic of Creation* iv, 103–4 *ikmiš-ma, napšataš uballi, | šalamtaš iddaa, eliše izziza* "He bound her, he extinguished her breath, | her carcase he cast down, stood upon it"

לפש may be a metathesis of פלש As *palašu* "tread" The word פלס "road" derives therefrom on the analogy of NH כבש from כבש "tread", and of דרך from דרך Cf Gk τρίβος

Trampling on the victim is a regular *motif* in dragon-combats, and has been duly noted by Jeremias. Cf *EoC.*, iv, 103 (as quoted), and cf ibid , iv, 118 , ii, 113, 115 , iv, 129 So David stands on Goliath (1 Sam xviii, 51, where אל = עַל).

[39] תשצק *šaf'el* of צוק in its primitive sense = "hold tight, constringere" So Virolleaud But I am not sure that תשצק is not better explained here as = תשצנק, cf BH צינוק (Jer xxix, 26), Syr ܙܢܩܐ "bond", Ar رنق "bind, ensnare" on the pattern of זקים = זנקים*

[40] בקין = בקנין on the pattern of אַף = אנף, בַּת = בנת, אַתְּ = אנתְּ, etc Cf BH קנין "trap" (Job xviii, 2), Assyr *kinsu*, Ar قنص "ensnare"

The "net" is a regular motif also Cf capture of Tiamat and followers, *EoC* iv, 95, iii, 124, vii, 113, etc So, too, when Ea captures Apsû, ibid, i, 69-70 Jeremias sees an unconscious trace in the שמיכה wherewith Deborah covers Sisera (Judges iv, 18)

[[39-41] Rabbi Dr M Wald suggests to me a different rendering of this obscure phrase "she stabbed him with a vehement cut" שצק, Šafel of a verb צוק = Ar صك "stab", קין from קצין "cut", אלל from vb rt of אליל "strong" I do not think this is likely, (a) because אלל can hardly be used of inanimate objects, and (b) because nowhere else in this text does an adjective occur ]

[41] אלל "bound", akin to it of Arabic آل "tribe" (cf עַם from עמם, etc), also of אלה "conspiracy" (*Panammu Inscr*, 3), cf إلّ "agreement" Vocalize *'ālōl* = אָלֹל, part passive of Qal conjugation Lines 9 11 thus mean "She seizeth Moth, trampled by her shoe, she holds him fast, bound in a trap" Cf note 38 *supra* for Assyr parallel

[42] אתהלך = אתלך

For the absorption of ה (in אתהלך) cf יתלכון in the Panammu Inscription, rev 9 (Lidzbarski)

[43] חר, which puzzles Virolleaud, is nothing other than BH חר "hole" ‖ גבע Cf in the analogous Hittite Telibinuš myth, ii, 25-6 (Sayce, *JRAS*, 1930, p 304) "Go, the high mountains explore, search the deep valleys!"

Virolleaud compares a word חר which occurs in RS and

which denotes some kind of hollow vessel. This is probably akin to the Assyrian (*karpat*) *ḫariu* (v. Smith, *JRAS* 1929, 855, n. 2, for this word), but does not belong here. Cf. *ḫarū* "mixing bowl", Howardy, 280[175].

[44] לכבד Virolleaud aptly compares Arabic كبد used in the sense "midmost"; cf. Assyr *ina libbi*, Hb בְּלֵב

[45] חסרת 3rd sing fem. perfect of Qal from rt חסר = BH חסר, here used like Arabic حسر in the sense "vanish" ‖ מחת.

[46] המלת *Heh* again stands for *Aleph* as in i, 10, iii, 2. The root is BH אמל, cf Assyr *umullu* (Jensen, *KB* 6, 1, 399) As used of a land, cf Is xxiv, 4, xxxiii, 9 The phrase המלת ארץ = BH אֶרֶץ אֻמְלָלָה, but המלת is used quasi-proleptically.

בן נפש The most striking phrase in the whole text, for it is an exact rendering of Sumerian DUMU ZI = *Tammuz* —the ritual title (*not* a proper name!) of dying and resurrected deities Cf the seven DUMU MEŠ ZI (= *marê napišti*, Langdon) in *KAV*. 42, i, 14

[47] מחת. 3rd sing fem perfect Qal of rt מחי in tropical sense "effaced"

[48] דבר = BH מדבר "desert".

[49] יסמת Akin to BH. ישימון, just as שאת = שאון, ii, 7.

[50] נגש Virolleaud quotes a yet unpublished verse of the poem תצדן פאת מדבר ונגשם, which illustrates the meaning "desert". What is the derivation? Tentatively, I propose rt נגש = Sabean נגש, Arabic نجس "sully", the conception being that of the desert as מקום טמא. Cf. the euphemistic מקום טהור in the scapegoat ritual and elsewhere (Lev iv, 12, Num. xix, 9), and the similar As *ašru ellu*. Cf. Haupt in *JBL*. xix, 55, 62. The desert was always regarded as a place of impurity; full references in Jeremias, *Old Testament in Light of Ancient East*, ii, 117, n 3

[51] = "as another Elyon Ba'al".

[52] Obscure, אמר may = Ar. אָמָּר, As. *immeru* "lamb"; on the other hand, אמר בפי כללא may mean "a saying in the popular mouth", i e a proverb *Non liquet.*

[53] Again obscure, I take חתאה from חתה akin to חתת, As *ḫâtu*, and even Egypt. *ḫ t* "break". This comports well with בשבר, and the reference is to a φάρμακος-rite in which an innocent man, by his death, brings goodweal to the community Cf Frazer, *GB* vi, "The Scapegoat" This rite is the real background of Isaiah liii, as I hope to show in a special study The sense is thus. "I shall be as in the popular saying 'With breaking, tho' guiltless, he was broken'"

The connection of Isaiah liii with a φάρμακος-rite has been perceived, along general lines, by Drews, *The Christ Myth*, but in my forthcoming paper I have worked out fully the parallelism between Isaiah's description of the martyr and the accounts of the φάρμακος given by Ister, Hipponax, and other Greek authors

[54] נרת אלם Cf *nûr ilâni* as a title of the Sun-god in Mesopotamia (Virolleaud) In K 2097 Nur-ilani is conjoined with Nabu and Šamaš as a Semitic equivalent of Šenailana Cf proper name *Lus-ana-nur-ilani* in Kassite text published by Ball, *PSBA*, xv, 273 f

[55] שפש = Sun-god So often in *RS*, as quoted by Virolleaud He misses the obvious comparison with Arabic شمسة and BH שְׁבִים (Is iii, 18), which thus means "sun-disks" as Schroder suggested

[56] צחררת "prairie", cf As *sêru* and the name Sahara

[57] לא שמם Virolleaud saw that this meant virtually "unbedewed by heaven", but missed the exact parallel of سماء in the sense "rain", As *šamutu* (Schwally, *Tlz*, 1899, p 357) According to Haupt שמים "heavens" = שׁ + מים (*SBOT*, Isaiah lviii, 11), but this is incorrect.

[58] Restored from v 7 *infra*

[59] For this usage cf Amos i, 13

The ending נֵּנ- represents the emphatic suffix נ + the suffix of 3rd sing masc. The emphatic suffix occurs also in *Ešmunazar*, 6, ידברנך, 19, יספננם, in O T, Ps. l, 23, יכבדנני; Gen. xxvii, 19, 31, תְּבָרְכַנִּי. It appears also in Arabic imperfects *Vide* Cooke, *NSI.*, p. 40 It is akin, I think, to the Assyrian "energetic" suffix 𒉌 *ni* (*vide* Pinches, *Grammar*, p 37), and to the Hebrew final *nūn* in forms like ימותון It is demonstrative in character, and links up with the *-n* of דֵּן (from דָּא), כֵּן (from כָּא), etc, on which *vide supra*, note 2

[60] חשר Virolleaud rightly compares NH חשר, Ar. حشر "winnowing-fan".

[61] תדרנג rt. דרי. Cf. BH זרה "scatter, winnow".

[62] באשת Cf Assyr. *išatu*, and cf. BH. מְאֵשְׁתָּם, Jer. vi, 29 (where the *Keri* מאש תָּם is unnecessary) Note that אש in BH is feminine

[63] So exactly in the Samaritan-Arabic Book of Joshua (ed M Gaster, *JRAS* July, 1930, l 88) if my emendation of תטחנו for MS תטחוו be accepted

[64] תדרעננ. The root is דרע = BH. זרע in the primitive sense "strew".

[65] נפר... Two letters are obliterated, of which the second was certainly 𐎌 (ש) The first was probably 𐎎 (מ). The word is נפרם ‖ עצרם (= As *issuru* "bird" Virolleaud, Dhorme) I connect it with Arabic = "sparrow"

[66] An idiom like BH. תהום אל תהום קרא, but in a developed sense, lit "flesh calleth out (to) flesh".

[67] והם = ואם interrogative Cf הת = את, i, 10, and note 10 *supra*.

[68] אש = BH יש Cf אש in 2 Samuel xiv, 9; *vide* Konig, ii, 102 (Micah vi, 10, usually cited, I would read הַאִשָּׁ בת רשע ואיפת רזון זעומה "Shall I brook the *bâth* of wickedness or the execrable *'ēphâh* of scantiness?")

[69] Imperat. and infin Qal of בני, a bye-form of בין = "mark well".

[70] נבתם The word occurs again in *RS.* 5. Virolleaud and Bauer cf BH נֶפֶת But may not the word be here an archaic fem + mimmation (cf תהמתם, i, 6) from the rt. נוב, giving BH ניב, and תְּנוּבָה and Assyr *nûptum* "produce"? (Arabic ناف "be high", cited in *GB*[17] s v, is rather = נוף, Ps xlviii, 3) For the picture, cf Amos, ix, 13

[71] ואדע Imperative, with elative א, as in Samaritan (*Vide* Petermann, *Grammar*, p 22)

[72] כי חי = Similarly כי איש = כאיש

[73] Ll 10–13 are repeated, by dittography, from ll 5–9

[74] The meaning of ישפר is unknown, הדם may = BH אָדֹם "red", and the sense would be something like "his face turned to red, i e flushed with gladness"

ויפרק לצב צב is from rt צבי as in Arabic and Assyrian *sabû* = "bind", פרק provides the antithesis; the phrase is metaphorical = "he brake all restraint". For ל of accusative cf As *ana*, and cf. Wright, 2, § 29, Konig, iii, § 289

Breaking out into laughter is a *motif* in stories of the incoming of the "new age" of fertility and goodweal Cf Jeremias, *Old Testament in Light of Ancient East*, ii, 317.

[75] בארתי = BH בְּאֻרְוֹתַי Cf Assyr *uru* "stall". Produce comes to household and livestock alike.

[76] נפש "Life-breath" Cf perhaps Samaritan נפיש "salvation"

[77] רגם Virolleaud compares As. *ragâmu* "cry out" = BH רעם (cf *raggu* = רָע) I would rather associate רגם with the rt behind As *turgamânu* (Hittite "loan-word" *tarkumis*), NH תרגום, etc Cf Arabic ترجم "carry across" (cf. *trans-late*), i e "Act as turgeman, carry the word". Cf connection of Nur-ilâni with Nabu, the courier κατ' ἐξόχην in K 2097.

[78] ישפש "irrigate" The root שפש is a primitive Šaf'el of a bilit פש which recurs in Assyr. *pašašu* "anoint".

[79] פל "stream". If Semitic, the word is to be referred to בל as in Arabic بل "rainy-wind", Assyr *šar-balu*, Heb. יבל and בלל But it may be a non-Semitic (Hurrite ?) loan-word, for in the trilingual glossary from RS (Thureau-Dangin, *Syria*, 1931, pp 225–66) *pala* of the "unknown language" = As *palgu* and Sumerian $PA_5$ (col iii, 18)

[80] ענת = BH עינות, pl. of עַיִן "spring" (Virolleaud)

[81] = Ithpa'el of שכן in the primitive sense "prepare". For הכין in this sense cf. Jer. x, 12, Ps lxv, 10

[82] מחרשת. Cf BH. חרש, As *huršu*, Aram ܡܚܪܫܐ, and Ar حَرْش "wood" The word "and" must be understood.

[83] תתבע from rt תבע "search out, inquire for" as in Arabic [The root = Taph'el formation of bilit בע (cf. Arabic תחם *magnificare*), which recurs in Ar בעה and in בעש and בעת By interchange of ע and ק (cf ארעא beside ארקא, etc) we get BH בקש]

[84] Very obscure, I take תחם (which recurs in RS 18[3], 21 [1]) figuratively = "determine", cf תְחום, etc [The word may be regarded as a Taph'el of bilit חם recurring in As *hamamu* "cut" Semasiologically parallel to *tahûmu* "district" is then *pulukku* from rt פלך]

[85] שר אל. The father of Šapaš is El

[86] הות I take = BH אות Cf note 10 *supra* Virolleaud quotes a word הות "seat" (?) from RS, but I do not think it has any place here. אות here means "a verbal indication" —a sense Kahana detects also in Job xxi, 29.

[87] לטפן Note absence of complementary אלדפאד and *vide supra*, n 17.

[88] חתך I regard as a verb, primarily = "cut," then tropically "determine, precise". Cf BH. נחתך, Dan. ix, 24, and Talmudic חתך דין, חתך דבור, etc Semasiologically parallel is נחרץ from rt חרץ and NH. נגזר from rt. גזר. Thus, חתך is ‖ תחם.

[89] שדיין I read שד יין "pour out wine". The spelling ין

recurs in RS , and שר is connected with Syr. אשר, etc., as imperative Cf זל, imper of אזל on ostraca Cf. Jerome's "ministros vini et ministras" = שדה ושדות, Eccl ii, 8, and cf also Targum in loc

ין = יין "wine", as again in Ras Shamra texts The spelling may be compared with מן = מין "water" in the late Palmyrene inscription, Cooke, *NSI* 145, 7, ולחם ומן למא ישבע, thus invalidating Winckler's suggestion that מן there = מָן in the sense of ambrosia. We may also cf שמם beside שמים, and ירושלם beside ירושלים. The pronunciation was *yên*, as in the BH status constructus

[90] = עין, used as in Prov xxiii, 31, and as in NH. poetry Thus ין ען = "sparkling wine"

[91] Virolleaud ingeniously conjectures בקֻבָּתֶךָ "in thy parlour", when על אמתך means "on thy lintel (?)" Cf BH אַמָּה The reading בקֻבֵּךָ "in thy cruse" has occurred to me

[92] בללית Read with Virolleaud בל לית "bring a garland" בל is imperat Qal of rt ובל on the analogy of הב from והב, דע from ודע, etc לית = BH לִוְיָה "garland" Cf the Greek custom of wreathing lintels at carousals and the modern Christmas "chains" and "streamers" at parties

בל לית "bring wreaths" A sign of carousal Wreaths were hung on the door as in classical usage. Cf Catullus, 63, 66 " mihi floridis corollis redimita domus erat." Ovid, *Metam* , 14, 708 " Interdum madidas lacrimarum rore coronas Postibus intendit " Propertius, I, xvi, 7 " et mihi non desunt turpes pendere corollae " (loquitur janua). Augustus, *Res Gestae*, 6, 16 " laureis postes aedium mearum vincti sunt publice coronaque civica super januam meam fixa est " Theocritus, 2, 153 · καὶ φάτο οἱ στέφανοισι τὰ δώματα τῆνα πυκάσδειν *Anthol Pal* , 5, 280 . . . φιλακρήτους μέτα κώμους Στέμμασιν αὐλέας ἀμφιπλέκοντι θύρας

[93] = "thy lintel (?)". Cf BH. אַמָּה (Is. vi, 4). So Virolleaud

[94] דכים ‖ רבם, hence = "mighty ones", not "many".

[95] Cf. Numbers xxxiv, 11, ומחה על כתף.

[96] [illegible] would seem to conceal [illegible] (ד), when דכים would be pl of דכי and mean "shining, resplendent ones".

[97] צמד "collar", cf As. *simittu* (Virolleaud)

[98] צחר מת. A periphrasis "the brightness of Mōth" = "effulgent Mōth" Cf *ᵈEnmešarra zimu* (= BH זיו) in the text published by Pinches, *PSBA*. 1908, 83 A, 10, and *vide* Muss-Arnolt, s v *zimu*. Cf. also *Tiamat ellitu*, *EoC* i, 36

[99] = "brought to earth" Cf Aram מטי

[100] Supply (וישב) from i, 30.

[101] דרכתה It is difficult to find a suitable meaning My father has suggested that דרך might here = BH. דרג when כחש דרכתה would refer to a throne with steps leading up to it Cf the O.T. expression עלה לכסא which presumes this Supply (ויעל) at the beginning of the line

[102] Restored from ii, 26.

[103] Notice the seven years of 'Elyon Ba'al's reign. This goes back to an ancient Semitic idea that seven years constitute a single life-lease The idea lies back of the Israelitic *šemîtah* A relic survives in the *Talmūd* in the custom whereby at every eighth Succōth-feast the king publicly reads a portion of the Law This is a survival of the recoronation of the king for the new lease The idea of a seven years' lease is found also in Greek custom , e g the octennial *Θεοξενία* at Abdera (Pindar, *Paeans*, i, 2)

[104] פאת is perhaps פאת = BH פֵּאָה, As *pâtu* "boundary", here used tropically = "province". *Non liquet*.

[105] קלת Cf Assyrian *kalalu* "harm, hurt". *ẓakilliní*, Amarna, 245, 38.

[106] A word meaning "scatter" must be supplied

[107] The fragmentary [illegible] at the end of line 19 is [illegible] = ר We thus have ר· באחר אסם in conjunction with וישב אף דגן, whence it is surely not too hazardous to

restore the word [cuneiform] = רוּחֲךָ, in the metaphorical sense of "Divine Displeasure", conceived as a gust of ill-wind (cf Isaiah, xxx, 28, lix, 19) The word אסף (for restore here [cuneiform] = אסְפָּה) preserves the wind-image (cf Ps civ, 29, Job xxxiv, 14) בְּאָחֹר virtually amounts to לְאָחוֹר, the picture being that of a wind-gust turning back Cf Proverbs xxix, 11, כל רוחו יוציא כסיל וחכם באחור ישבחנה, where the full image is "A fool vents forth the full blast of his temper, but a wise man lulls it and turns it back"

The various dispositions of God were imaged by the Semites as the venting of ill-wind, or the wafting of gentle breezes (As *šarku tabu*) For this latter see K 3515, Rev 11 (= Sidersky, *JRAS* 1929, 781), [*šarka*] *tabu lizikamma* The same in King, *Magic*, 18, Rev 3, *šarka ṭabu lizikamma, napištum lîrik* Klauber, *PRT* 112, Rev. 4 (Ašurbanipal) *ša ana šarka tabi upakku*, *BA* v, 312, 21, *lublut ina šarika* Cf Langdon ad *Epic of Creation*, vii, 15 I would cf especially Psalm civ, 29–30

תסתיר פניך יבהלון תוסף רוחם (רוחך [1].) יגועון
ואל עפרם ישובון:
תשלח רוחך יבראון וגו'

Also Ps cxliii, 10, where we have an exact parallel to the Assyrian *šarku tabu* in רוחך טובה תנחני (the division in MT. is wrong, as is clear from Is xxxvi, 14, רוח ה' תנחנו). Cf. Isaiah, xliv, 3, for "spirit" || "blessing". The idea grows into that of "inspiration", as in Is xlii, 1, Ezekiel xxxvii, 6, and *passim*, Job xxxii, 8

= "and may the wrath of our judge be turned aside" For the idiom cf Psalm lxxviii, 38, Job ix, 13, etc

I do not attempt to make sense of the disjointed letters which follow

[108] The seven associates (cf Arabic *ḫalīm* "socius, amicus") constitute a persistent *motif*. Enmešarra, another bounden *tammuz*, has *seven* sons associated with him (Langdon,

*SBH* 146, 42, *BE* 31, 35, *CT* xvii, 37, 1, Langdon, *EoC.*, p 143 n.) Similarly, Ešmun—another *tammuz*—has *seven* brothers variously given as Kabeiroi, Kouretes, Samothrakes, etc. Tammuz has *seven* companions who act as the bridesmen (*lugirsi*) at his ἱερὸς γάμος (Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 29, n 1) In the Phœnician Kronos-myth, according to Sanchuniathon, the god had *seven* sons (Roscher, 1499). Dionysos is reared by *seven* nymphs, variously given as Pleiades, Hyades, etc Osiris had *seven* companions Finally, cf in Revelation i, 4, the *seven* attendants before the Throne of God !

[109] פ ן From the parallel v 14, where the word is omitted without affecting the sense, it is apparent that it is some sort of affirmative particle. Is it too hazardous to restore [cuneiform] [[cuneiform]] [cuneiform] פון on the analogy of the Targūmic enclitic פון = *certe* and the Assyrian *appuna* ? Trs. "Verily". The word is related to אפנך

[110] לפאי "unto tribes" (Virolleaud), cf Arabic فِئَة and cf Yahuda, *ZA.* xvi, 271 I am very doubtful as to whether בנם אמי really means "uterine brothers", as Virolleaud thinks May not אמי כלי mean "all peoples", in which case the thought is that all mankind are really brothers and that Ba'al so disposes things as to weld us all together into one human family "Verily, brethren are the gift (i e brotherhood is the natural dispensation) of Ba'al, all the peoples (may be resolved) into the (various) families of (different) sons," i e. they are as septs in the one world-sib Ba'al-Elyon is thus rejoicing that he has brothers to help him

[111] יתנת "gift of" The rt in Phœnician is יתן, not נתן. Cf the same variation in BH ידה beside נדה (As. *nadu*), יכח beside נכח, יצב beside נצב, etc. נתק = *eteku.* It originates in alternative methods of triliteralizing biliteral bases For rt יתן cf. יתניאל, 1 Chron. xxvi, 2, and hypocor יתנא, *APO.* xlvi, 1. For the sentiment cf. אסרחדן = Aššur-*aḫē-iddin*, and סנחרב = *Sin-aḫe-erriba.*

Cf also *Aḫa-iddina-Addu* (Clay, *Bab. Exp.*, xv, 160, 20), and especially, *Bel-aḫe-iddina*, Pinches, *PSBA.* xv (1893), 417.

[112] יתען כנמרם The נמרם are the Kimmerians, later the Scythians The reference is, I think, to the Scythian custom of scalping slain enemies Cf Herod iv, 64, Athenæus, 524 F The Greeks coined the words *σκυθίζω* and *ἀποσκυθίζω* to denote this operation Cf Euripides, *Electra*, 241, *καὶ κρᾶτα πλόκαμόν τ' ἐσκυθίσμενον ξυρῷ*. Eur, *Troades*, 1026, *κρᾶτ' ἀπεσκυθισμένην*.

For the cruelty of the Scythians in popular belief, cf at a much later age, 2 Maccabees, 4, 47, and 3 Maccabees, 6, 5, *νόμου Σκυθῶν ἀγριωτέραν ἐμπεπορπημένοι ὠμότητα*.

יתען The root is נתע = BH נתץ "smite, break", here used in the developed sense "assail" as in Assyrian *natû* In *RA* xi, 70, *natû* is used of an housebreaker, and in K 8664, Obv 7 (= Sidersky, *JRAS* 1929, 769) the noun *nittu* means "assault" In iv [2] R 26, 3, 7 (= Jastrow, i, 487), however, it retains the primitive sense "smite, split", and is used of the fire-god's action on mountain-peaks; an exact parallel is Nahum, i, 6, חמתו נתכה כאש והַצרים נתְצו ממנו Cf on *natû* Meissner, *Berl Phil Woch*, 1905, 11th Nov.

[113] Cf in the ancient Hebrew poem, Deut. xxxiii, 17

וקרני ראמים קרניו בהם עמים ינגח

So already in a Sumerian hymn to Ishtar, published by Langdon, *JRAS* 1931, p 373, line 10 *nam-ur-sag-bi am-sum-gim dib-bi á-dú-dú* = "Her valour like a wild-ox gores"

[114] The picture is that of the carnivorous beasts preying on unprotected flocks Cf Deut xxxii, 14, בני בשן, Ps xxii, 13, אבירי בשן (bulls of Bashan)

[115] Cf Arabic عَضَّ "chew" (Castell, 2121) ‖ נשך

[116] לסמם Cf As *lasamu* "dart, spring forth". The word is general in sense and denotes all such animals as may dart forth upon their prey Virolleaud goes beyond

the evidence when he renders "galoper" and adds "surtout en parlant des chevaux", because the word may be used of any animal. In a text which he has himself edited (*Etudes sur la Divination chaldéene*, pp 15–16) it occurs (written ideographically *MAŠ MAŠ*) of dogs, in Bezold Cat 1378 = Sm. 67 it is used of foxes, and in RM 83 (= Boissier, *Choix de textes relatifs à la Divination Assyro-babylonéene*, pp 12–14) of sheep! Cf for the picture Deut xxxiii, 22 גור אריה יזנק מן הבשן׃

[117] = "against us" Virolleaud "sur nous"

[118] Dittogr from שמע

[119] תתמחץ = תמתחץ Cf Arabic مخص (= נגף BH) Trs "set thyself against".

[120] From rt נסע = primarily "uproot"

[121] אלת = BH. איל, 1 Kings vi, 31, Ezekiel xl, 9, 16, 21.

[122] Cf Psalm lxxxix, 45 וכסאו לארץ מגרתה.

[123] Cf Psalm lxxxix, 45, where read with Chajes השברת מטהו (although Hiph'il is unusual!)

[123] לידפך כסא מלכך
לישבר חט משפטך

A very striking parallel occurs on the tombstone of Aḥiram, king of Byblos (Dussaud, *Syria*, 1924), where the following curse is invoked upon any invading monarch who may ransack the tomb —

תתחסף חטר משפטה תהתפך כסא מלכה׃

The overturning of a chair and the breaking of an official staff are both well-known methods of symbolizing evacuated power, or "vertue" The former appears frequently in funeral customs, the idea being to show that the former occupant is now "defunct" The breaking of a staff still takes place upon the death of the British sovereign. Similarly, a dismissed army officer has his sword broken. In prehistoric graves weapons are deposited broken In the annual ceremony of "humiliating the king" at Erech and Babylon, a vessel was ritually broken When the Pope dies his signet-ring is broken.

[124] A mistake בן אלם מת
[125] = *šuttu* "ditch" (Virolleaud), but most doubtful.

I append a note upon another Ras Samra text, Virolleaud No. 4, which is written in an unrecognized language Sayce has shown (*JRAS* 1932, 43 ff.) that this language has affinities with Etruscan, and suggests that it is a "sister-language of old Etruscan" (p 45) Proto-Etruscan may well be Philistine, there being much evidence to connect these latter with the Tyrsenoi The tongue of the inscription may thus be Philistine

A recurring phrase is *el k-m-r*, which is also found in the declined forms *k-m-r-bn* and *k-m-r-b* Sayce detects in the former word the Semitic *el* meaning "god" The latter word he connects with the Hebrew *komer* meaning "priest", and thinks that the group may mean "priest of (the) god" Is it not more probable that *K-m-r* is a divine name ? I would compare the divine name (*d*) Kumarbini in BO 2033, 19; (*d*) Kumarbis in BO 2549, ii, 27, (*d*) Kumarwee in the "Hurrite" text KBo v, No 2, ii, 60, where the same inflectional forms may be seen Possibly the Hittite hero's name Kamru-sipas contains the same divine name, and the element Camer in early Etruscan and Latin names may perhaps be connected

ABBREVIATIONS

RS = Ras Samra texts, as published by Virolleaud in Syria, 1930

EoC = (Babylonian) Epic of Creation, ed Langdon, Oxford, 1923

BH = Biblical Hebrew

NH = New (Post-Biblical) Hebrew

GB [17] = Gesenius-Buhl Lexicon, 17th edition, Leipzig, 1915

Konig = Hebraische Grammatik, 3 vols

# An Old Moorish Lute Tutor (*cont.*)

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER

## § 1. The Modes

SINCE my article on the above appeared, additional information has come to hand which appears to be of sufficient merit to be recorded, more especially because this old music of the Moors is gradually disappearing At the invitation of the Egyptian Government, I attended a Congress of Arabian Music which was held in Cairo during March and April, 1932, where I had the honour to preside over the Commission of History and Manuscripts During this congress I had the opportunity of studying, at first hand, the practical as well as the theoretical art The best native orchestras from Arabic speaking lands were in attendance, and among them were three from Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia These latter included in their répertoires the old Maghriban melodies from the *tubū'*, *naubāt*, or *san'āt* At these auditions, and from conversations with the musicians, but more especially through information obtained from Sīdī Ḥasan 'Abd al-Wahhāb the Governor of Mahdia,[1] and Sīdī Muhammad al-Manūbī al-Sanūsī of Tūnis,[2] I had confirmation by eye and ear of that which hitherto had only been known to me by script

Concerning the melodies and verses of the *ṭubū'*, *naubāt*. or *san'āt* that have come down to us, as mentioned,[3] I would take this opportunity of placing on record the names of the *tubū'*, etc. in which melodies were performed at Cairo by these bands from the Maghrib. These should be compared with the earlier lists given by me [4]

[1] The author of a small book on the music of the Maghrib

[2] One of the collaborators of Baron Rodolphe D'Erlanger in his *La musique arabe*, Tome i, " Al-Fārābī," Paris, 1930

[3] See p 384 *JRAS* (1932)

[4] See p. 381, *JRAS*. (1932)

| | Moroccan | Tunisian | Algerian |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | — | Dhīl | Dhīl |
| 2. | — | Ramal [al-dhīl] | Ramal al-ashiyya |
| 3 | — | — | Mujannab [al-dhīl] |
| 4. | Raṣd al dhīl | Raṣd al-dhīl | Raṣd al-dhīl |
| 5 | Istihlāl [al dhīl] | — | — |
| 6 | — | — | — |
| 7. | 'Irāq al-'ajam | 'Irāq [al-'ajam ?] | 'Irāq [al-'ajam ?] |
| 8 | — | Māya | Māya |
| 9 | Ramal al māya | Ramal [al-] Māya | Ramal [al-] Māya |
| 10 | — | — | — |
| 11 | — | Husain | Husain |
| 12 | Raṣd | Raṣd | Raṣd |
| 13 | — | Mazmūm | Mazmūm |
| 14 | Gharīb al ḥusain | — | Gharīb [al-ḥusain ?] |
| 15 | — | — | — |
| 16 | — | — | — |
| 17 | — | — | Zaidān |
| 18 | Hijāz al-kabīr | — | — |
| 19 | Hijāz al-mashriqī | — | — |
| 20 | 'Ushshāq | — | — |
| 21 | Iṣbahān | Iṣbahān | — |
| 22 | — | — | — |
| 23 | — | — | — |
| 24 | — | — | — |

## § 2 The Furū'

Reference to the *Ma'rifat al-naghamāt al-thamān* treatise [1] will show that the author, at the end of the work, gave a "picture of a tree, in which appears every principal mode (*al-aṣl*), and what branches out from it (*al-furū'*)" Unfortunately this "tree" was omitted by the copyist of this solitary exemplar of the treatise in question Whilst in Cairo, Sīdī Ḥasan 'Abd al-Wahhāb of Tūnis lent me a Maghribī manuscript which contained a "tree" of this sort. The classification of the *ṭubū'* in this manuscript, however, does not correspond with that of the three Maghribī treatises which I have dealt with, and for this reason I give the system as contained in the former The treatise, which is of modern Moroccan origin, is a collection of verses sung to eleven of the twenty-four *ṭubū'* of the Moors of Spain This would appear to have been all that were known when this collection was made. Here is the classification of the *ṭubū'* according

[1] See p 357, *JRAS* (1931).

to this manuscript, together with an indication (*asterisk*) of those of which verses are given :—

DĪL

*Ramal [al-dīl][1]
Mujannab al-dīl
Mashriqī
*Rasd al-dīl
*Istihlāl al-dīl
'Irāq al-'arab
*'Irāq al-'ajam

*MĀYA

*Ramal al-māya
Inqilāb al-ramal
Ḥusain
*Ḥijāz al-mashriqī
Rasd or Madanī

MAZMŪM

*Gharībat al-husain
Ḥamdān

ZAIDĀN

*Isbahān
*'Ushshāq
*Ḥijāz al-kabīr
Ḥisār
Zaurakand

GHARĪBAT AL-MUHARRAR

In this manuscript we again have the mode *dhīl* written with a د and not a ذ. It is certainly very curious how this doubly corrupt word *dīl* has persisted in modern manuscripts as well as viva voce, in spite of the fact that the proper word, *dhail* ("extremity"), like the old term *bamm*, conveys so precise a meaning as the lowest or extreme note or string of the lute The vulgar speech has doubtless been a partial cause of this, just as the modes *zaidān* and *husain* have become *zīdān* and *husīn* or *hasīn*.[2]

## § 3 THE SYLLABLES OF SOLFEGGIO

In my *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence* (1930) I dealt at considerable length with the question of the

[1] This is omitted from the "tree", but since *Ramal* and *Ramal al-māya* are included in the verses, it is obvious that the omission of *Ramal al-dīl* is due to the copyist's slip

[2] Yafil and Rouanet, *Répertoire de musique arabe et maure*, Algiers, 1904, Fasc 11 and 25

reputed Arabian origin of the syllables of solfeggio or solmization[1] I had already pointed out in my *Arabian Influence on Musical Theory* (1925)[2] that, in spite of this long standing claim for the Arabian origin, I had not seen any example of the Arabic alphabet used in this particular sequence, i e *do* (د), *re* (ر), *mi* (م), *fa* (ف), *sol* (ص), *la* (ل), *si* (س) Indeed, I traced the claim back to Laborde[3] and Meninski[4]

Since then I have found the system given in a Turkish musical manuscript in the British Museum, written by a certain 'Alī Beg al-Santūrī in the year 1649–50[5] His table is practically identical with that of Meninski, and does not throw any further light on the problem. One can, therefore, only repeat what has already been expressed elsewhere,[6] that it " cannot be said with any degree of certainty that the Arabs influenced Europe in the question of solfeggio ".

## § 4 Ibn Sab'īn

In dealing with the few works on music from the Maghrib that have been spared us, I mentioned a *Kitāb al-adwār al-mansūb* by Ibn Sab'īn This was given on the authority of a writer in the *Hilāl* (xxviii, 214) on certain rare manuscripts on music Indeed, it was on the strength of this that I included Ibn Sab'īn among the writers on music in my *History of Arabian Music* This manuscript was in the library of Ahmad Taimūr Pāshā, which has now become the property of the National Library at Cairo During my recent visit to Cairo I tried to get access to this and other rare manuscripts on music in this collection, but found that they were still

[1] Chap v
[2] pp 8–9, see *JRAS*, Jan, 1925, p 67
[3] Laborde, *Essai sur la musique* (1780), i, 182
[4] Meninski, *Thesaurus linguarum orientalium* (1680), s.v. " *Durr*."
[5] *Sloane MS*, 3114, fol 184
[6] *The Legacy of Islām*, ed by Arnold and Guillaume (1931), p. 372

under an official seal, and could not be consulted. There is, however, a modern copy of the work attributed to Ibn Sab'īn in the library of the *Ma'had al-mūsīqā al-sharqī* (Institute of Oriental Music), and this turns out to be the *Kitāb al-adwār* of Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min! It is not improbable, therefore, that the treatise referred to above is also by Ṣafī al-Dīn.

A similar disappointment was experienced over another work Amongst the Cairene *literati* and musicians it had long been claimed that the two books on music by Al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad (d 791), the *Kitāb al-nagham* and the *Kitāb al-īqā'*, were possessed by the well-known musician and composer in Cairo, Mansūr Efendī 'Awaḍ. The Commission of History and Manuscripts of the Congress of Arabian Music approached the latter, asking that they might be permitted to examine these treasures. After much delay the Commission was informed that Manṣūr Efendī 'Awaḍ "had not been able to find the book[s] among his collection as he had previously believed that he could".[1]

## § 5 Ibn al-Khaṭīb al-Salmānī

My view that this poem is by Ibn al-Khatīb rather than by Ibn al-Wanshirīsī, is not shared by Professor Dr. F. Krenkow of Bonn, to whom I am indebted for many courtesies. He writes to me as follows "As regards the poem, I am almost inclined to attribute it to the Faqīh Ibn al-Wansharīsī. I think that Ibn al-Khaṭīb al-Salamānī, who was a poet, would not have used the adjunct pronouns هُ as being short. In good poetry it always forms a long syllable."

As for the spelling of the *nisbas* of these two writers, I may say that whilst most authorities write al-Wansharīsī, I adopted al-Wanshirīsī because I found it vocalized in this way in *The Shaikhs of Morocco* of my old teacher, the late

[1] *Vide* Minutes (16th and 23rd March) of the Commission of History and Manuscripts Congress of Arabian Music, Cairo, 1932.

Dr. T. H. Weir As for Salmānī in preference to Salamānī, the former is given on the strength of the manuscript itself. See also the *Encyclopædia of Islam* (s v ). Strange to say, in the *Nashra bi asmā' kutub al-mūsīqā . bi dār al-kutub*, just published by the National Library at Cairo (*Dār al-kutub al-misriyya*), where my articles on "An Old Moorish Lute Tutor", in the *JRAS*, are indexed, the editor suggests (p ٨٠) that the *nisba* is al-Tilimsānī rather than al-Salmānī. It is true that Ibn al-Khaṭīb lived at Tlemcen for a short time between 1371 and 1374, but he possessed the other *nisba* long before this date

## § 6. The Doctrine of the Ethos

That music had its place in the cosmic scheme naturally gave rise to the belief in its occult influence on man and the animal world It is an oriental fancy of hoary antiquity [1] In Arabic literature this theme is to be found as early as the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Kitāb al-siyāsa*, the translation of which is attributed to Yuḥannā ibn al-Batrīq (d 815) It is developed at considerable length by Al-Kindī (d *c* 874),[2] and the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (tenth cent ) [3] In Muslim Spain, Ziryāb, the court musician of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II (822–52), also advocated this notion [4] In these writers we find the strings of the *'ūd* (lute) connected with the elements, natures, seasons, winds, natural faculties, colours, etc The four strings of the lute—the *bamm*, *mathlath*, *mathnā*, and *zīr*—were linked up respectively with earth and black bile, water and phlegm, air and blood, and fire and yellow bile Ziryāb claimed to have added a fifth string to the lute This he placed between the *mathlath* and *mathnā* string Naturally he had to connect

[1] See my brochure, *The Influence of Music From Arabic Sources* (1926)
[2] *Berlin MSS* (Ahlwardt), 5503 and 5530
[3] *Rasā'il*, Bombay ed , i, 101, 116
[4] Al-Maqqarī, *Analectes*, ii, 86.

it with the cosmic scheme, and he associated it with a fifth nature—*the soul*. What could have prompted this association? In the Pseudo-Aristotelian *De Mundo* (393*a*) we find a fifth element—*ether*, and it occurs in the *De musica* of Aristides Quintillian [1] In the Maghribī treatises which have recently been presented we find a system entirely different from that which was accepted in the East. Here is the Maghriban system.

| ELEMENTS (*Ṭubū'*) | NATURES (*Ṭabā'i'*) | PRINCIPAL MODES (*Uṣūl*) |
|---|---|---|
| Earth (Cold and Dry) | Black Bile | *Dhīl* and its Branch Modes (*furū'*) |
| Air (Hot and Moist) | Blood | *Māya* and its Branch Modes |
| Water (Cold and Moist) | Phlegm | *Zaidān* and its Branch Modes |
| Fire (Hot and Dry) | Yellow Bile | *Mazmūm* and its Branch Modes |

These conceits led to music being admitted into therapeutics and to be actually used in hospitals That particular modes should be used at specific times of the day and night is stressed by Al-Kindī, the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', Ibn Sīnā,[2] and later musical theorists Even to-day in the Maghrib the custom still prevails. In Morocco and Algeria the following order of

[1] Meibom, *Ant Mus Auct*, lib, iii.

[2] Ibn Sīnā's account of the appropriate times for performing particular modes is not given in either the *Shifā* or the *Najāt*, but is quoted in an anonymous work on music dedicated to the Turkish sulṭān Murād II (*Brit. Museum MS*, Or 2361, fol 201 *v*) It may have been derived from another work by Ibn Sīnā, a *Madkhal ilā ṣinā'at al-mūsīqī* (Introduction to the Art of Music), which has not come down to us

In my *History of Arabian Music* (p 128) I mentioned a book by Al-Kindī which is not found in the lists drawn up in the *Fihrist*, Ibn al-Qifṭī or Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a Recently the head of the manuscript department of the National Library at Cairo called my attention to another book by Al-Kindī on music, which is quoted in the *Tabaqāt al-umām* by Abū'l-Qāsim ibn Sa'īd al-Andalusī (p 52) One suspects, however, that this is the *Kitāb mu'nis fī'l-mūsīqī*, written about the theories of Al-Kindī by Manṣūr ibn Ṭalḥa ibn Tāhir mentioned in the *Fihrist* (p 117).

performance is observed in the various *ṭubū'*, *naubāt*, or *ṣan'āt* [1]

| MOROCCO | ALGERIA |
|---|---|
| *'Ushshāq* in the morning<br>*Rasd al-dhīl*, at mid-day<br>*Gharīb*, from 3 to 5 p m<br>*Istihlāl*, after sunset<br>*Māya*, during the night | *Sīka*, in the afternoon (*'asr*)<br>*Ramal*, at sunset (*maghrib*)<br>*Ramal al-māya*, in the evening<br>*Mujannaba*, after midnight<br>*Rasd al-dhīl*, at 3 a m<br>*Māya*, later |

[1] See Lavignac, *Encyclopédie de la musique*, v, 2883, Delphin and Guin, *Notes sur la poésie et la musique arabes*, 63

# A Persian Manuscript Attributed to Rhazes

By C. ELGOOD, M A, M D (Oxon), M R C.P (London)

WITHIN the last few years, a period which may well be said to have been initiated by the publication of the late Professor Browne's *Arabian Medicine* in 1921, there has sprung up a new interest in the scientific accomplishments of Islamic Persia. The foundations of this study were laid in the last century by the German publication of certain Arabic texts and historical works and by Leclerc's *Histoire de la Médecine arabe* In this first period must be included a short note by Professor Nicholson on the Ḥifz-ul-Ṣiḥḥat (or Ḥifz-ul-Badan) of Fakhr-ul-Dīn Rāzī, which was published in the Society's *Journal* for January, 1899.

The big *Systems of Medicine*, with certain notable exceptions, have been lithographed or printed. But scarcely anything has been done to render accessible to students of Arab medicine the smaller monographs on scientific subjects which lie buried in public or private libraries. Professor Nicholson, in a letter to the Society a few months after his publication of Rāzī's manuscript, wrote · "The private owner of MSS may not improperly be likened to the innocent receiver of stolen goods, whose best apology is straightway to publish what has befallen him."

Both because I am such a receiver of stolen goods and because the author has a fame which demands that anything from his pen be treasured and studied, I have here summarized a manuscript which I picked up when I was in Ṭeheran three years ago. It is entitled the *Barri'-ul-Sā'at* (or *Cure within the Hour*), and is the work of Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakariyyā Al-Rāzī—the Rhazes of medieval Europe, and an earlier and more famous citizen of Ray than that Fakhr-ul-Dīn whose work Professor Nicholson has described. That this is one of his later works is clear, because in section 19 he quotes by name his own masterpiece, the *Kifāyā-i-Manṣūrī*.

My manuscript is modern, being dated A.H. 1266 (= A.D. 1849), and is one of ten treatises on medical subjects that are bound together, though there is no continuity of matter between them. All are by the same hand, though not by the same author.

Of the authenticity of the work there is no doubt; for Ibn Abī Usaybi'a mentions it in his *Classes of Physicians*, in the section that deals with Rhazes He writes thus —

"He also wrote . . . a book entitled *Burun Sā'atin* It is dedicated to the minister Abū Ul-Qāsim bin 'Abd Ullah. It contains a section on hæmorrhoids and anal fissures, and a discussion on differential diagnosis Another section is on scalding pains in the urethra and bladder" (Cairo edition, vol i, p 321)

Up till now it has received no mention in European books on the history of medicine, as far as I can discover, with the exception of the *Geschichte der Arabischen Aerzte* of Wustenfeld. It is there described as a work entitled "Fundamenta Medicinæ de Morbis qui intra horam sanari possunt" (page 43) But this is clearly only a translation of Ibn Abī Usaybi'a's list Yet in Persia the work is very popular Other translations out of Arabic into Persian have been made, notably the *Tuhfa-i-Shāhī* of Sheikh Hussein Jābirī Al-Ansārī about A D 1700 (*vide* the Bodleian MS. 1610 (Fraser 194)) and the *Dastūr-ul-Tibb* of Muhammad Hussein ibn Karam 'Alī (*vide* the British Museum MS Add 7722 iv) Neither of these versions are the same as mine Recently yet another Persian translation has been lithographed and published in Teheran, where it can still be bought for a few shillings in the bazaar.

The treatise begins abruptly without any introductory remarks —

"Thus saith Muhammad ibn Zakariyyā the Physician: 'At a certain period of my life I was in the assemblage of Abū Ul-Qāsim ibn 'Abd Ullah In his presence were several qualified practitioners and there were others who were still seeking graduation Each of these joined in the discussion

according to the depth of his knowledge. At length, some one made the remark that disease is produced by the collection of waste products during the passage of time and that it is impossible that all this should be set aside in a single hour; nay, rather, that just as it had taken several days to assemble, so several days would pass before it could be cured. All present agreed with this remark, and were well pleased that the making of many visits should bring in high fees

"'But I said: "There are some cases which take many days to mature, but can be dispersed in a single hour." Some of the physicians present expressed astonishment at this. Appealing to him, they bade me write a book which should describe all those diseases which can be cured within the space of one hour So I went to my house and began to compose this work When I had finished it I called it the Barri'-ul-Sā'at This is my Book, and these are the Laws of Treatment Although it is my habit in writing and composing to enumerate diseases from head to foot, still, since every disease does not admit of cure in a single hour, I have described some organs and later on have mentioned the diseases of that organ which are secondary and do admit of dispersion within the hour. And may God grant the reward.

"'Section 1—Headache (صُداع).

2—Pain in the Eyes (هَيَجان العَيْن).

3—Nasal Catarrh (زُكام), "the most difficult of diseases."

4—Toothache (وَجَع الاِسْنان)

5—Halitosis (بَخَر)

6—Epilepsy (صَرْع).

7—Hemicrania (شَقِيقَه)

8—Tinnitus aurium (طَنين) and Vertigo (دَوى).

9—Epistaxis (رُعاف)

10—Quinsy (خَوانيق), "by which is meant an inability to breathe or an inability to swallow"

11—Leeches in the Throat (عَلَقُ الثابِت فى الحَلْق)

12—Piles (بَواسيرْ)

13—Anal Fissures (نَواصيرْ)

14—Bleeding Wounds (جراحاتُ الطَرِيَة)

15—Injuries from Blows or Falls (ضَرَبَه و سَقَطَه).

16—Burns (حَرّاق النار)

17—Prolapsus Ani (خُرُوْجُ المَقْعَد)

18—Colic (قُوْلَنْج)

19—Gastric Fermentation (خِلْفَه). "This is a disease in which the food is not retained for long in the stomach Its ejection varies: sometimes it is rapid and sometimes slow; sometimes it is in large quantities and sometimes in small; sometimes it is digested and sometimes undigested"

20—Tenesmus (زَحِير).

21—Gastritis of Infants (خِلْفَة الصِّبْيَان).

22—Sciatica (عِرْقُ النِّسا) "Treatment.—Take of

Socotran aloes one drachm, yellow myrobolan one drachm, and Egyptian colchicum one drachm. Grind up the ingredients, put them through a sieve, and make into a pill Take five or six of these pills and natural health will be at once restored I tried this remedy upon a man who had suffered from this disease for a year, and who, when sitting or standing, was unable to move in any direction In a very short time he experienced relief"

23—Muscular Stiffness (اَعْيَا و تَعَب)

24—Itching of the Extremities (حَكَّة الاَطْراف).

"This sometimes occurs as a result of walking in the rain or from the falling of cold water. The irritation is very great. Treatment —Take some very hot water, throw a handful of salt into it, soak the hand and foot in this water for an hour ; and within the hour a cure will be effected"

"'Farewell. The Treatise is finished.'"

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# The Sumerian Epic of Gilgamish

BY S LANGDON

LAST season M. Watelin discovered a number of Sumerian tablets at Hursagkalamma in the spur of the great mound north of the temple of Ninlil These were found in trench C 15, 1 metre below the surface, 3 metres above plain level, and in the Hammurabi stratum Several fragments have been joined at Oxford, so that the lower half of a large two-column tablet has been completed The tablet is 5 inches wide (125 mm.) and 5 inches long, originally 10 inches long. This tablet contains that part of the Sumerian Epic of Gilgamish which relates to the Humbaba episode. Now it is clear that the lower half of a large tablet published by Zimmern, *Sumerische Kultlieder* (all from the same period as the Kish tablet) belongs to the same series This tablet, No. 196, VAT 6281, has also two columns, and is obviously the first tablet of the series Zimmern wrote that a dealer sold VAT 6281, claiming that it came from Dilbat That tablet is only 105 mm wide, or ⅘ in narrower than the Kish tablet. The two tablets, therefore, represent local peculiarities observable in local editions of other series

It was evident from the large single column tablet from Nippur, which I published in *Publications of the Babylonian Section* (PBS.), vol x, part ii, No 5, that an edition of the epic on long single column tablets existed at Nippur Chiera found a small duplicate of this text in the Nippur collection at Constantinople, *Sumerian Religious Texts*, No 38 I am unable to do much with the interpretation of that tablet, but from line 2 of the reverse, *arad-da-ni* $^{d}$ *En-ki-du(g)-ra* [1] *gù-mu-na-dúg-e* "His servant Enkidu said to him", it is clear (by its style) that it belongs to the epic and probably to some part after the Kish tablet.

For reasons stated below, I do not believe that Chiera's No. 39 + Radau, *Miscellaneous Texts*, 12, belongs to the

[1] On this *ra*, see note on the Kish tablet II, 20.

Sumerian epic With the single column tablet published by me in BE xxxi, 43, those tablets belong to a lost poem concerning Gilgamish and the dragon Zû, corresponding to the Lugalbanda-Zû poem, of which I first published a large four-sided prism, OECT. i, 1–10, pls. 5–9. An unpublished six-column tablet in Philadelphia carries this entire poem, of which my text corresponds to the second half. Chiera published three small fragments from this poem, ibid., Nos. 33-5, and cites several more published by Poebel, Legrain, and myself, together with thirteen unpublished fragments, ibid, p 34 It is clear that several tablets assigned to the Sumerian epic of Gilgamish by Chiera do not belong to it [1]

The original Sumerian epic was, therefore, edited in a series of about four or five double-column tablets of about 200 lines each The contents differed widely from the later old Babylonian version, edited on three-column tablets and the Assyrian edition, on three-column tablets, was also a new composition, differing greatly in diction from its Babylonian predecessor Apparently the Sumerian poets had already created this great literary work in which the order of the episodes was fixed , this order was adopted by the Babylonian and Assyrian poets , but each of these Semitic editions is much more than a translation of the Sumerian original. They are the works of great literary masters, who wrote the argument and the narrative in a new style

If progress is made in the recovery of the Sumerian epic an attempt must be made to establish the text, vocabulary, and style of the existing fragments. I make this first attempt here, editing the two fragments of the two-column edition. The style is unusually phonetic , words usually written with ideograms occur in phonetic forms Until the Sumerian phonetic pronunciation of all the words is established there must be a margin of error in any essay of this kind A phonetic lexicon of Sumerian can be made possible only by numerous

[1] See Chiera, *Crozer*, p 35.

editions of texts of this kind. I have depended largely on the manuscript of my own Sumerian lexicon in this endeavour to supply a basis for the future interpretation of the Sumerian epic of Gilgamish.

I

A two-column tablet from Nippur (?), lower half published by Zimmern, *Sumerische Kultlieder*, 196 Said to come from Dilbat. In form it corresponds to Kish, 1932, 155. Duplicate, Poebel, PBS. 27.

Obv I

. . . . . .

3. *am-mu lù mu-un-ne-en šu-bâr*[1]*-ri bar-ri*[2]
4. *en* [d]*Gibil-ga-mes am-mu*[3] *lù mu-ne šu-bâr-ri bar-ri*
   Wild bull, thou who art named "Release giver".
   Lord Gilgamish, wild bull whose name is "Release giver".
5. *ne šu-bâr-ri bar-ri*
   . . . . . "Release giver".
6. *gè-é-pâr-gà*[4] *gù-dingir-ri šu-bâr-ri bar-ri*
7. *é-an-na an-ni*[5] *di-em sá-kud-dé šu-bâr-ri bar-ri*
   In Eanna, built unto the sky, rendering decision, giver of release.
8. [d]*Gibil-ga-mes za-e ù-ne*[6] *ĝe-me-en za-e*[?] *ĝe-e*
   Thou art Gilgamish, truly thou art a lord, thou art . . . . .
9. *šanabi-ba*[7] *dingir-ri gè-é-pâr !-šú ib-ba-ni-in-tud-tud*
   Two-thirds of him as a god in the secret chamber she bore him

[1] Sign BE, value *ba-ra*, Ass 523, i, 74

[2] Literally "releasing release"

[3] Cf. TC 15, 17, 230

[4] So read ? Perhaps for *é-gè-pâr*.

[5] Cf. *Sum. Grammar*, § 71.

[6] For *umun-ne*, lord, as *ga* for *gašan* in this text

[7] Corresponds to *šittēn-šu ilu-ma*, Epic I, Col II, 1 But the context requires 2nd pers sing Read *zu* for *ba* ? It is possible that the reading is *kù-ba* [d]*Innini*, "Holy Ishtar" and "Two-thirds of him as a god" is wrong. For *kù-ba*, *kù-be*, see Gudea, Cyl. A 6, 1, 5, 22

Kish 1932, 155

Obverse I

5

10

15

20

25

10. *d·Nin-é-gal* [1] *á nam-ur-sag-gà-zu-šú* [2] *nam-* . . .
Ninegal unto the hand of thy heroic power . . . . . . . . *confided*
11. *d·Innini-ge ud ? gidi-mu za-e nam-ba-in-tar*
Ishtar length of days (?) has decreed thee.
12. *ga kur-ra ga ana-ka nam-ba-ga-ne-zu*
The queen of the earth, the queen of heaven . . . .
13. *lu kur-ra ga-ana-ka nam(?)-ba-ga-ne-zu*
The lord of the earth, the queen of heaven . . .
14. *kug na₄gug dū-gar ? sur-sur-meš ga* . . . . .
Gold and cornelian . . . . .
15. . . . . . . . . *nin(?)-e gù-ba-an-de kîr-dū* [3] *ba-an-kûš* [4]
. . . . . . . . . . . . thou recitest; thou makest a rule of doing obeisance.
16 . . . . . . . . . *kîr-dū ba-an-kûš*
. . . . .; thou makest a rule of doing obeisance.
17. . . . . . *ga-ne-du za-e ba-i-ra-an-* ?
18. . . . . . . . . *ga-ne-du za-ra-ra ba-an-dúg*
19. . . . . . . da-bal (?) *d Gibil-ga-mes*
20–24 Too fragmentary to be transcribed

Obv. II

Break of more than twenty lines

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
6. *d·Innini-ge* .
7. *an-ni* ki-be-
8. *gi-gú im-ma-ni-túg* . . . . . .[5]
9. *lù-dumu-mu a-ba* [6] . . . .
"The man, my son, who ?

[1] *Ninegal*, usually wife of Urash of Dilbat, BE 31, 17, n. 3 But also a goddess at Nippur Zimmern regards the name as proof that the tablet came from Dilbat See Meissner in *Altorient Bibliothek*, i, 2, n. 5, for Ninegal = *Bêlat-ekallim* in Assyria As underworld deity, *Babyl.* iv, 232, Col. II, 1.

[2] Cf. Hrozný, *Ninrag*, 10, 15

[3] Cf Col. IV, 19, Kish tablet, iv, 10, *laban appi*

[4] This line corresponds to PBS v, 27, i, 4

[5] For duplicate of ll 8–19, see PBS v, 27.

[6] Var *na*.

Kish 1932, 155

Obverse II

10. *gū-gal šu-bar-ri* [Šuruppak ? . . . . .]
The giant, deliverer of Shuruppak (?),
11. *gū-gal* [d] *Gibil-ga-mes šu-bar-ri* Šuruppak (?)
The giant, Gilgamish, deliverer of Shuruppak.
12. *mu-ne* [1]*-ga BAD-mu-na-ab* (?)*-zí-gà*
13 *er ní* [2]*-lù-lù-e* ? *gūr-gūr-ri*
He is sad with tears . . . . .
14 *a-a-mu* [3] *ga-an-na šanabi* (or *kug*) *mu-un-na-ab-tū*
My father, the queen of heaven bore him two-thirds (a god). Or " the queen of heaven, the holy bore him "
15 *en-ga mu-ùg-ga* [4] *en-ga mu-ùg-ga*
But surely he shall die, surely he shall die.
16. *en* [d]*·Gibil-ga-mes en-ga mu-úg-ga*
The lord Gilgamish surely shall die "
17. *dingir-gal-e kug* [d] *Innini-ge mu-na-ni-ib-gi-gi*
The great god to holy Ishtar replied
18. *lù dumu-mu ga-an-na-ge ên-bi in-na* (?)*-ab* (?) *dúg-dúg-ga.*
" Of ' the man, my son ', the queen of heaven has spoken his destiny,
19 *kiskil* [d] *Innini ki* [d] *Babbar-è-na-ri a-tú*
O maid Ishtar, who bathes where the sun rises [5]
20 *za-e ga-an-na šanabi* (or *kug*) *mu-na-ab-mă-mà* (sic !)
Thou, O queen of heaven, hast created him two-thirds (god) " Or " O queen of heaven, the holy, etc "
21 *kug* [d] *Innini-ge* *mu-na-ni-ib-gi-gi*
Holy Ishtar replied . . . . to him

[1] Var *ní.*

[2] Var *a ni*, which proves that the verbal prefix *NI* was pronounced *ni* here.

[3] I e. Anu Cf Ishtar's response to Enki as *a-a-mu*, Langdon, *Paradis*, 224, 15.

[4] For ug-ga = *mâtu.*

[5] Ishtar washed her head in the fountain of Dilmun, and another passage refers to her having washed her head at a fountain See Langdon, *Paradis*, 246, 47. Note that the fountain of Dilmun is identical with the sunrise (east) which confirms my location of Dilmun, on the eastern shore of the Persian Gulf, ibid, 4–17.

22. *mà-e* . *ba dingir-gal-gal* . . . . . . .
I the . . of the great gods, of the

23 *ní-ba-da-te ní-ba-da-te*
fear, fear.

24. *dingir-gal kug* [d] *Innini-ge mu-na-ni-ib-gi-gi*
The great god to holy Ishtar replied.

Rev. I (III)

1. *ga-an-na šanabi* (or *kug*) mu-na-ab-mă-mà (sic !) [1]
"The queen of heaven created him two thirds (a god)."

2 *nam-uš-a-ge* [2] *šagan zagin-na šu-ba-an-ti*
. . a lapis lazuli box she took in her hand

3 [d] *Innini ga-an-na an-ta-è*
Ishtar the queen of heaven mounted on high

4 *ga Urug-(ki) ú-mu-de-e* [3]
The queen of Erech fled

5 *íd a-gè-šú a-de-de*
In the flood of the river she washed herself

6 *íd a-gè-lu danna(na)-ta-ám ib-si* (?) *šag-zu*

7 *ú* *im-si-mu-e*

8–9

10 *ga-an-na šeš-ni*

11–14.

15 *en* [d] Gibil-ga-[mes ]

16 [d] *Innini ga-an-na* [an-ta-è]
Ishtar the queen of heaven mounted on high

17. *ga Urug(ki)* [*ú-mu*-de]
The queen of Erech fled

18 *íd a-gè-šú* [*a-de-de*] [4]
In the flood of the river she washed herself

[1] See II, 20 *mă* is the sign *KEŠDA* not SAR (mă) ! *mà* = *banû* and mă=*banû* seem to be an example of two signs for the same value Uncertain *ug-gà* to bear, for *ugu* should be expected but the copy has a sign which seems to be *KEŠDA* Or render "The queen of heaven, the holy, etc."

[2] Also BE 31, No 35, 1 , *nam-uš*, No 4, Rev I, 14

[3] *ú-de* for *ugu-de*, as in YOS iv, 29, 7, *ú-ba-an-de ne-dug* "It was lost" he said For the form of *de*, cf VS 13, 72, 9

[4] For *a-de* = *mesû*, see RA 17, 170, K. 11890, 4

Kish 1932

Rev I (III)

19. *íd a-gè-lu danna(na)-[ta-ám ıb-si* (?) *šag-zu*] . . . .
20. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

Rev II (IV)

. . . . . . . . .

2. . *mu-[na-ni-]ıb-gı-gı*
. . replied
3 *ne-ne*
4. . . *mu na-nı-ıb-gi-gı*
replied
5 . . *a-ru-ru ga-* . . . . .
6. *galu-ba tar-ru-ga ǵe-en-* ? [1]
7 *šă-maǵ zu-kud-da-la ǵe-en-* ?
8 *zu-zu zu-?-ga ǵe-en-* ?
9. ? *ga-zu àd* [2] *mu-un-zu* ? *na*
10 *sı-* ? *-a-bı al*(?)*-dū dug-ga-šú* ^d*·Innını-ra ba-an-dı(b)*
kindly to Ishtar spoke (?)
11. ^d *Innını* . . *ıgı-mu-dū-lal*
12 *ga-ne dé-en-?-na*
13 *en* ^d *Gıbıl-ga-mes nıgın du-ta nı-da*
14 *En-kı-du(g)* ? *ku-lı*
Enkidu *will protect* a friend [3]
15 *dumu erı-na* [4] *mu-un-eš* . *ǵa-ab-?-du-eš*
The sons (people) of his city . .
16 *En-kı-du(g) ká-ga-da-šú* [5] *ım-mı-gub-bı*
Enkidu at the outer (?) gate stood

[1] This sign occurs Obv I, 9, II, 14 + 20, Rev I, 1, and here, 6–8 In Craig, R T 78, 16, it is clearly *šanabı*, see ibid, 28–30–33 But it stands for some verb here and *šanabı* is impossible Perhaps in Rev II, 6–8, Zimmern miscopied the sign KUG

[2] GALU + BAD = *mîtu, pagru.* Cf *Epic*, Thompson, pl 13, Sm. 2097, Col III, 1

[3] See *Epic*, iii, Col I, 5–9

[4] Cf BE 31, 55, 12 In the Epic the *nišê ša Uruk* "people of Erech" are mentioned vi, 197, ii, Col V, 13, Philadelphia tablet

[5] Cf ^d *En-kı-du(g) ba-ba-am ıp-ta-rı-ık*, Philadelphia, Rev III, 8 Is *ga-da* the phonetic reading of AN-AŠ-(A)-AN = *kamû* ? For reading *tılla*, see JRAS 1920, 506, 44 Note that *tılla* = *rîbıtu*, and cf *Phil.*, Rev. III, 7

Kish 1932, 155

Rev II (IV)

17. *lugal-a-ni-ir* [d] *Gibil-ga-mes* [1] *gù-mu-un-du*
    To his king Gilgamish he cried
18. *nà* [2] *gig* *igeš* [3] *luǵ-ǵa bu-bu*
    In (his) bed by night a dream, terrifying, caused (him) to tremble
19. *dumugu* [4] *kîr-dū dingir-ri-ne*
    "O princely son, who bows down to the gods,
20. *ga-šem* [5]*-ni* *ag-a gub-bi*,
    who stands constantly to make his prayers (?),
21. *en-gal* [6] [d] *Gibil-ga-mes Urug(ki) ne-in-dúg-ga*
    great lord, Gilgamish, who cares for Erech,
22. *ama-zu* [7] *ù-tu-da maǵ-bi in-gal-zu*
    thy mother, the extremely wise creatress,
23. *um-me-ga-zu mu-tūr-ra-ga-zu* [8] *maǵ-bi in-gal-zu*
    thy bearer, thy great mother womb (?), the extremely wise,
24. SAL + ME [9] *ní-ila sag-gà-á-?* *nu* ? *tuk-ní-te-a-ni*
    the *nadîtu*, pre-eminent, whose awfulness . .
25. *ki-a-du gi-na*
    where she walks

It is clear from the reference in I, 9, "she bore him two-thirds a god", or "Holy Ishtar bore him", that this was the first tablet of the series Ninsun is the mother of Gilgamish in

[1] Enkidu seems to be the subject, but the syntax is difficult, noun in apposition *after* the postposition *ra(ir)*. Syntactically Gilgamish must be the subject

[2] *nà* for *na(d)* = *mayalu*

[3] REC 249 Value *i-gi-eš* = *idu*, *ittum*, *ittum*, omen, sleep, CT 11, 33, K 8298, also perhaps "dream" as omen

[4] See *Kish*, 1932, 155, IV, 10

[5] Has Br 8892, the value *šen* also? The sign in *Kish*, IV, 11, is clearly *lipiš-ma*, showing a confusion of the signs *šem* and *lipiš* See Thureau-Dangin, RA 17, 100

[6] But *Kish*, IV, 12, *banda*

[7] Traces of a sign [*sic* !] in copy

[8] I cannot explain the variant *mu-tūr-ga-la-zu* unless *ga* stands for *gal* here, see *Kish*, IV, 14

[9] Landsberger, ZDMG 69, 507, gives a reading *lu-kur* = *nadîtu*, *šagîtu*, *lalitu*, as title of a goddess I do not know any parallel

the Assyrian and old Babylonian versions,[1] and in the Kish tablet. *dAruru* is said to have created both Gilgamish and Enkidu,[2] and *a-ru-ru* occurs here IV, 5, but without the determinative for deity and may be some other word. But the Sumerian epic states that it was *ga-an-na*[3] who bore or created Gilgamish, II, 14, 20, III, 1 It also seems clear from II, 6–9, that Innini speaks of Gilgamish as the "man my son"

Col I of this text represents, then, the lower half of the first column of the epic, and is entirely confined to the glorification of Gilgamish After a break Innini seems to be lamenting the fate of Gilgamish before her father (Anu) He is only two-thirds a god, and must die. Now if II, 9–16, are addressed to Anu by Innini, then line 17 surely has for subject *dingir-gal-e* = Anu[4], gi-gi (= *apālu*) must stand for *gí-gí*, used with *ra*, *Gudea*, Cyl A 5, 11, but with direct object, IV Raw 7 A 24, CT 4, 4, 23 But in Anu's reply (II, 18–20) he uses the words *lù dumu-mu* "the man, my son" Anu speaks of Gilgamish as "my son" also

If in lines II, 14–18–20, III, 1, the text be read *gū-an-na* "bull of heaven", then this part of the myth would correspond to tablet VI of the Assyrian version But Col IV describes the meeting of Enkidu and Gilgamish, corresponding to tablet II (Philadelphia) of the old Babylonian version and tablets I (end) and II (beginning) of the Assyrian version It is, therefore, clear that the dialogue between Anu and Ishtar in Cols II–III refers to some early part of the epic, and contains material not represented in the Accadian versions *ga-an-na* for *gašan-an-na* is the reading imposed by III, 3–16, and *ga* surely stands for *gašan* in III, 4–17 (*ga Urug(ki)*) In II, 10–11, the sign as copied by Zimmern is

[1] See *Semitic Mythology*, 397, n 73

[2] Assy. Ver I, Col. II, 20–35

[3] *ga-an-na* = *gašan an-na* is a regular title of Innini (Ishtar)

[4] *dingir-gal* means Anu in BA II, 481 = Ebeling, *Era*, 24, 20 (at Erech), and cf *dingir gu-la* = Anu, BL 136 In SBP. 120, 4, CT. 36, 28, 16, BE 17, 89, 1, it means Enlil, also TC. VI, 56, 3 = AJSL 39, 286

the same[1] as in *ga-an-na*, but there it is certainly *gud*, *gū* "bull" It is impossible to read *ga-gal* "great queen" in these lines

It seems, then, that Anu uses *lù dumu-mu* of Gilgamish as a *citation* from Ishtar's speech, where the text should have *lù-dumu-zu* "the man, thy son"

After this dialogue, in which Anu also admits that Gilgamish, although two-thirds god, must die, Ishtar fled and ascended to heaven Here there is a long break, and Col. IV begins with a dialogue between Ishtar and some deity, possibly Aruru, concerning "this man", that is obviously Enkidu. The situation seems to be this Ishtar, mother of Gilgamish, had appealed to Anu to deliver her son from the mortality that threatens him, and failed She now appeals to Aruru to create a companion who will protect him in his adventurous career

Now (IV, 15–17) Enkidu arrives at Erech and the citizens of that city see him. He stands at the outer gate and called to Gilgamish "his lord". Gilgamish lay on his bed and dreamed that he had seen Enkidu. Sumerian literary compositions are so abrupt in passing from one situation to another that lines 19–25 are difficult to fit into the situation They seem to be an address by Enkidu to Gilgamish, the protector and lord of Erech, and lay stress upon the fact that a goddess was his mother

The contents, though fragmentary and based upon a badly preserved text, show that the Sumerian epic differed widely from the Accadian version There is obviously no place here for the long episode of Enkidu and the harlot But seals of great antiquity prove that Enkidu was a bovine monster, precisely as the Accadian versions describe him, half-bull and half-man Col IV, 6–9, seem to describe his appearance, but the text is sadly damaged. Line 7 refers to his *šamaḫḫu* "great stomach", intestines

[1] See also *Kish*, ii, 10

The difficulty with my analysis is the interpretation of *ga-an-na* and *ᵈ Innini* as the mother of Gilgamish, whereas the Kish tablet, which I take to be tablet II of the Sumerian series, repeatedly names *Ninsun* as his mother, in agreement with the Assyrian version, where her name occurs as mother of Gilgamish in tablets I, II, III, after which her name disappears in the remaining nine tablets. The old version, *Philadelphia*, Rev III, 30, also names *Nin-sun-na*, the *rimtum* "wild cow", as mother of Gilgamish. Now Ninsun is by origin one of the titles of Innini (Ishtar); cf *ga-ša-an-sun-na*, title of Innini (KL 123, Rev II, 7, PBS x, 295, 37), with ᵈ Gašan-sun = ᵈ·Nin-sun, wife of ᵈ Lugalbanda (father of Gilgamish), II Raw 59, B 25 For Ninsun allied to Innini, see BE 31, 14, n 1 Unless through the defectiveness of the text I have interpreted it wrongly, there seems to be no doubt but that Innini of the Berlin tablet is Ninsun of the Kish tablet

II

The Kish tablet has precisely the same form as the Berlin tablet (KL 196), and also represents the lower half of a large tablet, being broken precisely across the middle. Only the lower half of the Obv. and upper half of the Rev are preserved. If KL. 196 is tablet I of the Sumerian series, this is tablet II, for it is entirely concerned with the Humbaba episode, corresponding to the latter part of tablet III, and probably most of tablet IV (not recovered) of the old Babylonian version, and to the Assyrian version, II–III–IV–V.

The lower half of Col. I, 12–20, describes seven monsters of the domain of Huwawa This corresponds to Yale 137 and Assyr. Vers. ii, Col. V, 2. Gilgamish is terrified by the giant and the seven monsters, and appeals to his mother. After a long break the narrative is resumed at the middle of Col. II, where Shamash appears to be conversing with Ninsun, mother of Gilgamish (II, 2–10). Shamash first appears in

the old version, III, 215 ff , consequently the order of events seems to be the same in the Sumerian original. Then follows an address by Gilgamish to his mother, Ninsun, and his father, Lugalbanda (II, 12–18) This corresponds to Assyr. Ver. iii, Col I, 23 ff He tells them that he is determined to slay the monster and the meaning has been reproduced precisely in the late Semitic version

We now come to material almost entirely lost in the present text of the Assyr Ver. iii, Cols III–IV–V.[1] The reply of Ninsun is omitted, and Enkidu abruptly begins an address to Gilgamish [2] Enkidu describes the monster Huwawa He promises to assist Gilgamish (II, 21–III, 12) Gilgamish takes up his weapons and Enkidu again encourages him (III, 13–19) Now Huwawa sees the two heroes approaching and breaks into great fury The battle is joined and here the text breaks away (III, 20–25) This material stood at the beginning of tablet IV, according to my reconstruction of the fragments, in a long lacuna [3] There is no mention of the three dreams of Gilgamish mentioned in the Hittite fragment and the fragments of tablet IV.[4]

According to the Assyrian version, Enkidu feared the battle, and was encouraged by Gilgamish [5] But if my rendering of Col IV is correct, it was Gilgamish who was not the man for this conflict Enkidu accuses him of being only a trapper of birds, a conqueror of ordinary men , city bred is he and fit only to be a shepherd, although born by a goddess

Huwawa cried out to Enkidu , he is astonished at the might of Enkidu (?) and complains that Enki had become hostile to himself Now follows an episode referred to in tablet VII of the Assyrian version,[6] but which was certainly

[1] See *Thompson*, pp 31–2 , *Semitic Mythology*, 249

[2] This failure to connect leading ideas by transitional passages is characteristic of Sumerian poetry

[3] See *Semitic Mythology*, 249 f

[4] Ibid., 250–1

[5] Last fragment of tablet IV, Col VI, K 8591 See ibid , 251–2

[6] Enlil's condemnation of Enkidu was certainly given at the beginning of tablet VII The account is preserved in the Hittite version only See *Semitic Mythology*, 257 , Friedrich, ZA 39, 16–21.

fully described in tablet V The text of this tablet is so defective at present that almost nothing can be made of the narrative According to the Sumerian version, Enlil sent his messenger to inquire why they had attacked Huwawa and orders them to depart. Here the fragment ends But in tablet VII and the Hittite texts Enlil condemned Enkidu to die, because they had slain Huwawa It is clear that this refers to the earlier episode of a lost part of tablet V, where Enlil and Ninlil interfered and endeavoured to save Huwawa. This Gilgamish and Enkidu had evidently refused to do, but encouraged by Shamash they again attacked Huwawa and slew him [1]

Col I

11. *ur-sag banda ur-áš*
12. *diš-ám* . . *bi šu* .
13 2-*kam-ma muš-šă-tùr* [2] KA *šu-uš*
14 3-*kam-ma muš-gal-ušum* [3] *muš*
15. 4-*kam-ma* NE-NE-NE [4]
16 5-*kam-ma muš-sag-kalag šă-gí-a* [5] KA-*ri*-
.
17 6-*kam-ma a-gè-a sun-sun dam kur-ra gab-ra-ra* [6]
18. 7-[kam-ma . ] *gir-gir-ri galu-kúr*
. *ne*
19 7
20. *má-su-má-su ĝur-sag-giš-ge-e-ne-bi in-tu-mu* [7]

[1] Dietrich Opitz, AOF. v, 207–13, has published a *bas relief* which portrays the death of Humbaba at the hands of Gilgamish and Enkidu. The style reveals some local convention and is not true to Babylonian representations of either Gilgamish or Enkidu

[2] Cf *Gudea*, Cyl A, 26, 24, JSOR III, 15, 7, ZA 39, 252 ⁷, 2, *bašmu*, CT 14, 13, 91010, 5

[3] Also = *bašmu*, 91010, 15

[4] Name of some monster Cf NE-NE (bi-e-bi-e) = *šaḫānu*, and the Fire and Serpent-god *Shaḫan*, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 120, 157

[5] KBo I, 39, 8, šagagri = *ṭâb libbi*. Here some other sense is required

[6] Cf OECT VI, 29, 13, Br 4516

[7] Cf Langdon, *Paradis*, 198, 41 Verb sing., subject plural! Cf *an-du-mu*, PBS. v, 16, 9 *má-su* I take for *maš-sú* = *massû*

21. *giš-erin giš-gí* [1] *ĝul-ám ní an-na* [2] *ì-in-gál*
22. *en d-Gibil-ga-mes ĝul* (?)-*ám ní an ì-in-gál*
23. . . . . . . *áš-ám si-ga ba*(?)-*ne-ra*
24. . *ge sag ur* . . *in-lal*
25 *ama-tuk ama-ni-šú* (?) [3]
26. . . . *ne-ba-kam ninnū-ám* [4] *á-mu ba-ab-gar*

Col II

1 . . . . . . . . . . . .
2 *d Babbar ùr-ama* [5] NIN(egir) *d Nin* ? [sun ? . ]
3 *d Giš-bil-ga-mes*
4. *dumu eri-ki-na mu-un-de*
5 *urú ĝur-sag-gà-ge nam* *BU-ne*
6 *ama ugu-bi ĝal eri-za-ám* . *ne-ib-sar-ri*
7 *giš-[túg-geštug-zi]* ama an-na ba *-e-sig* [6]
8 *inim nam-ur-sag giš-KA-NE KU-gim im* . . *i* *in-gub* ga-da- .
9 *TÚG-eš ba-a šu-ne-ne-ta* ? ni ba-an- ?
10 *gud-gim ki-gal-e* *bi-e-du*
11. *gú* ? *ki-ám inim-be-gar inim pa-an-da-sig* [7]
12 *zi-ama ugu-mu d Nin-sun-kam a-a-mu kug* d Lugal-bàn-da
13 *zi ama ugu-mu d Nin-sun giš-da* [8]*-še-ga* ? .
14 *kur* (?) *šú* *eri* (?)-*mu sag* (?) . *bi*
15. *zi-ama ugu-mu d Nin-sun-kam a-a-mu kug d Lugal-bàn-da*

[1] *abu, apu*, cane-break, KAR 24, Obv 21, for *giš-gi* See IV, 20.
[2] *ni-gal*, to fill with terror, *Gudea*, Cyl A 25, 3, AJSL. 39, 167, 21 Here *ní-an-na* not *imi-an-na* "rain of heaven", as in Thureau-Dangin, SAK. 74, ix, 19 RA 12, 29, 2 *an na* here an adverb, *šamûtiš* ? On an = *šamûtu*, v *Bab* vii, 233, 17
[3] Sign *túg*
[4] Cf BE 31, No 55, 3
[5] Cf BL 63, 12–13
[6] Cf PBS x², pl xv, 20, *sag-mu-e sig*
[7] See note on BE 31, 31, 8.
[8] *gišda*, probably for *geštu, geštuk* = *ašaridu, šarru*

16. *en-na galu-bi*[1] *lili ģe-im-ma-ab-za-ám ģe-im-ma-za-ám*[2]
17. *gĭr . . . . . . . erı(kı) ba-ra-an-gub-bı*
18 . . . . . *tu-tu*
19. *arad-bàn-da . . . .*
20 *arad-da-a-nı* [d]*En-kı-du(g)-ra gù-mu-nı-ıb-gí*[3]
21. *lugal-mu za-e galu-bi ıgı-mu-de šag-mu-nı-ın-dıb-bi*
22. *mà-e galu-bı ıgı-mu-de-e šag-mu-nı-dıb-bı*
23 *ur-sag gùg-gùg-dé gù ušumgal-kam*
24. *ıgı-nı ıgı-Ug-gà-kam*
25 *gıš-gab*[4]*-ni a-gè-a dú-dú-dam*
26 *sag-kı-na* [giš]*gı-bıl*[5] *ka-a* lù
27 *gù-da(?)-a ur-mu (?) KA a BE-BE-ra ?* NE
28. *lugal-mu za-(e) kur-šú[ù]-e .*

Rev. I (III)

1 *ama zu tıl zu ga-an-na-ab-du ka-šu ģe-be-gál*
2 *egır-ra ba-bad-zú*[6] *ga-an-na-ab-du-er-mu*
3 *galu-ra* [d]*Enkı* GALU + MIN[7] *nu* [BE]
4 [giš]*má-da-lá*[8] *dU Ug su-su*
5 *Eš-tab-ba galu-kúr*[9] *kud-da*
6 *ne-da-dıš galu-kúr šù-šù*
7 *é-gı-sĭg-ga*[10] *izi-*BAD *te-en-te-en*
8 *za-e gıš-e*[11] *taģ-ba-ab ù-?-ba ga-mu-ra-taģ*
9 *a-na-me galu-ba an-nám*[12]
10 *ba-su a-ba ba-su a-ba*

[1] "This man," apparently Humbaba, see also PBS x², pl xv, 24 After *bı* read Br 6408

[2] See note on BE 31, 31, 13 [3] See PBS x², No 5, Rev 2

[4] *šıtık ırtı*, ZA 30, 290, 8, here without *uzu* because it refers to the human body Cf Yale tablet 109 + 196. *rıgma-šu abubu*, Thompson, ıı, Col V, 3

[5] Cf Yale tablet, 110 + 197, *pí-šu* [d] *Gıbıl*, Thompson, ıı, Col V, 3

[6] On *ba-bad* = *tapdû*, see JRAS 1932, 330–1

[7] Cf IV, 9 [8] See l. 13 below

[9] *nukurtu*, KBo ı, 7, Obv. 10

[10] Perhaps for gı-sı-(ga) and restore [é-]gı-sı = *samítu*, AOF vıı, 273, I, 8 ?

[11] *gıš* for Gılgamısh, as ın the old Babylonıan versions

[12] Cf. IV, 4. For NIM = *na-am*, see Scheıl, RA. 22, 53.

11. *û-giš-má-má ģe* (?)-*an* *ba-su a-ba*
12 *giš-má-te-gúr má ģe-an* *ba-su a-ba*
13. *giš má-ad-lá má-zi-šag-gál-la-ge šag-gál-la-ni in-ku*
14 *gà-nam-ma* (?) [1] *ga-an-ši-de*(?)-*ne ši-mu-un-gab-ba-meš* [2]
15 *tukundi-bi ga-an-ši-de* ? [3] *ne* [4]
16 *ni-im-gál ni-im-gál gí-* *a*
17 *de-ni-gál de ni-gál gí-* *a*
18 *nig-šag-su* [5] *gà-nam ga-an-ši-ri-taģ-taģ*
19. *nita-diš-gar la* ? an-da-ne
10 *d Ḫu-wa-wa é giš erin-na* gù-be-in- ga-[ga]
21 *igi-mu-un-ši-bar igi-mu-un-bad a*
22 *sag-mu-un-na-bulbul sag- nam-da-bu-bu*
23. *gù-mu-un-de-a gù-nam-ma-sir-sir* (?) [6]
24 *kalag šù-ru* ! [7] *da-meš gà-ne* ? [8] *dúg-ga-gim* nu-?-*ne*
25 *d gibil-ga-mes* ? *nam-né-ni-dé-ta* NE-šu-ra-*na-ri*
26 *ab-gi*

. . .

## Col IV

1 *kur-ra* *da* zi-du-ga-mà
2 *d Gibil-ga-mes zi* . ? *zi-di-a mu-un-nigin*
3 *zi-kur-ra* . *zi-nam-mu-un-gál* ?
4 *šu-šú* ? *ba-an-ku* [9] *za-nam-ma* ! *an-nám* [10]
5 *ud-bi d Gibil-ga-meš tūr-tūr-ra šag-a-ni* . *šu-an-tu*
6 *arad-da-a-ni d En-ki-du(g)-ra gù-mu-un-na-de*
7 *ģu-dib-ba* [11] *girím ki-bi-eš ģa-sī(g)-ba kalag-dib-ba ùr-da-ni ģe-gí*

[1] Sign is rather *KU* See l 18
[2] Or read *tāb-ba-meš* ?
[3] See the form of DE in II, 21 This sign I cannot identify
[4] The sign after NE is not *eš* but a colon or full stop to divide the line from the end of the line on the opposite face of the tablet
[5] Sic ! for *zu*
[6] A syn of gù-de = *šasû* is required Cf gù-mu-un-sir-sir = *ul-ta-na-aḫ* (?), Meek, BA x, p 102, 14
[7] Cf IV, 3
[8] Perhaps *la*
[9] Perhaps *KU* used for *dib* as often
[10] Cf III, 9
[11] See l 16

8. *arad-da-a-ni* ᵈ·*En-ki-du(g)-ra gù-mu-un-ni-gí*
9. GALU + MIN [1] *lu-lu* kalag-dib ? *ba ġa-pa-za*
10 *dumugu* [2] *kîr-dū dingir-ri-e-ge-ne* [3]
11. *ga-šem-ma* [4] *ag-a* [5] *gub-bi*
12 *en-banda* [6] ᵈ *Gibil-ga-mes Urug*(ki) *mí-dúg-ga* [7]
13 *ama-su* [8] *ù-tu-da maġ-bi in-ga-al-* [9] *za*
14 *um-me-ga* [10] *mu-tūr-ga-la-zu* [11] *maġ-bi in-ga-al-zu*
15 *am-da* [12]*-su nu-síg nam-tar-ni gù-e nam-tar-ni zu*
16 *ġu-dib-ba* [13] *ki-bi-šú* (!) *gí kalag-dib ùr-da-ni i-gi*
17. *za-e eri-da ù-tu-da nu-kīd sú-be*
18 ᵈ *Ḫu-wa-wa* ᵈ *En-ki-du(g)-ra gù-mu-un-na-de*
19. *mà-ra* ᵈ.*En-ki gù-mu-un-na-an-ġul-ġul*
20 ˡᵘ*nimgir šag-gal-ib giš-gi* [14] *egir gab-ri* [15] *uš-sa*
21 *an-ki ib-ba* *lipiš-bal-a-ni*
22 ? *-ni im-ma-an-tar kuš-gada-lal* [16] *KU-mu-un-da-gar*
23 *igi* ᵈ *En-lil ù* [17] ᵈ *Nin-lil-e im-ma-an-gub-me-eš*
24 ᵈ *En-lil-li gal-te-a-* [18] *ni a-ab-ta ba-ra-è*

[1] Cf *GALU-A*, *Ur Excav*, 210, 7, 289, 16, *en-bi* R *mi-ni-in-díb-ba-a* (When) he captured their lord

[2] Written *dumu* + REC 468, title of Gilgamish, also KL 196, iv, 19 The proper sign is REC 469, *gi-e*, CT 35, 4, 52 = *rubû* See CT. 15, 9, 16–17

[3] KL 196, iv, 19, *dingir-ri-ne* Cf RA 12, 82, 37.

[4] Sign *LIPIŠ* not *šem* See also K L 196, iv, 20, there *ni* for *ma*.

[5] Or *kid*, *mid*, CT 11, 4, 11 = CT 5, 9, R 13

[6] Zimmern's copy *gal* KL 196, iv, 21, probably wrong

[7] For reading *mi-dug*, v RA 11, 144, 14 But KL 196, 21, *ne-in-dúg-ga*. Hence *nin-dug* possible

[8] KL 196, iv, 22, *zu* Between *zu* and *ù* that text has a broken sign, sic !

[9] KL 196, iv, 22, *gal*

[10] KL 196, iv, 23, adds *zu*

[11] KL 196, iv, 23, *mu-tūr-ra-ga-zu* Cf ùr-má-tūr-ra, *Crozer*, 39, R. 1 = Radau, *Miscel.* 12, 24

[12] For *ama-da*, literally *alittu*, bearer, but by synecdoche *iltu*, goddess, SAI 3763 See *Babyl* iv, 234, 10

[13] Cf *kua-dib-dib*, *Crozer* 39, 29.

[14] Cf I, 21.

[15] Cf *gab-ri egir-ra-ni* = *arki miḫri-šu*, KAR 119, 7

[16] *labiš maški u kite* ? Cf Meek, BA x, 112, No. 30, 5, OECT. vi, 28, 16.

[17] Sic ! A clear Semiticism

[18] Not *KAR* as, for example, *Bab* vii, pl. v, C. 24 ; KAH i, 75, Obv. 14.

25. *ù $^{d}$Nin-lil-li di-su*[1]*-tuš ba-ra-è*
26. *ud $^{d}$En-lil ù $^{d}$Nin-lil im-ma-an-gur-ru-da-ni*
27. *a-na-áš-ám*[2] *ǵur-ǵìn-na-ge-en-eš*
28. *ǵa-ba-è ǵe-in-KU*[3]

TRANSLATION

Obv. I

11 A fierce giant
12. Firstly a
13 Secondly a viper, that crushes
14 Thirdly a serpent monster, that
15 Fourthly a flaming monster, that
16 Fifthly a mighty serpent, that . .
17 Sixthly a devastating deluge that smites the breast of the mountains
18 Seventhly a *swift* that *prepares* hostility
19 Seven are they
20 Chieftains who are born on the mountain range of their woods are they[4]
21 Cedars and cane-break wickedly he terrifies like a hurricane
22 The lord Gilgamish wickedly he terrified like a hurricane
23 As one he *crushed* them.
24 . . he bound.
25 . he the offspring of the (royal) house[5] to his mother ,
26 " . my might he has turned back (?) "

(Break of over twenty lines)

[1] Cf *di-zu*, "knower of decision," the just, OECT 1, 13, 33

[2] See OECT 1, 5, 22

[3] A meaning "go away" is required here , various values are possible, *ku*, *gu*, *tuš*, *duru* , but I can suggest no reading

[4] I e the seven aspects of Huwawa ? This passage is obviously connected with *Yale* 137, *pul-ḫi-a-tim* 7, "seven terrors "

[5] *ama-tu(k)*, probably for *amaedu*, *emedu* = *ilitti bîti* On this title of Tammuz, see *Semitic Mythology*, 347 , RA 14, 86, 9 ; CT 37, 24 B 6 , V Raw 29, 69 , SBP 334, 5

## Obv. II

2 Shamash *with* (his) mother, the queen Ninsun (took counsel ?).
3 Gilgamish . . .
4. The "sons of his city" cried
5. A hurricane of the mountains .
6 The mother, the bearer, . in thy city .
7 True understanding oh heavenly mother, thou hast given
8 A word of heroic power . . like a garment .

9. . in their hands . .
10 Like a bull [1] in the "great chamber" [2] thou hast born
11. Humbly he plead , he made entreaty.
12 "My faithful mother, my bearer, Ninsun, my father, Lugalbanda, the holy.
13. My faithful mother, my bearer, Ninsun, an obedient king . .
14 . . my city
15. My faithful mother, my bearer, Ninsun, my father Lugalbanda, the holy,[3]
16. As long as this man exterminates men, yea exterminates them
17. . . . (my foot ?) in the city may I not set,
18. . . . . . (not) enter."
19 The vigorous servant. . . .
20. His servant Enkidu [4] called to him.
21 "My king thou art. This man before me has enraged my heart.
22. As for me, this man before me has enraged my heart.

[1] But the sign is made like *ga* Also BE 31, 31, 7, *ga* !

[2] *ki-gal* corresponds to *gè-é-pâr* of KL 196, i, 6–9

[3] See note on BE 31, 31, 7

[4] *gù-gí* "to cry out to" is construed with *ra* (see PBS. v, 25, i, 37; ii, 2) But *ra* must be either an emphatic pronoun here or the reading is *Enkišarra* !

23. He is a hero that slaughters, a voice of the monster *ušumgal*.
24. His face is the face of a lion
25. His breast is a deluge of onslaught
26 His front[1] is flame, the mouth of a
27
28 My king thou art To the mountain ride . .

Rev I (III)

1 To thy mother, that understands to give life, I will speak, I will prostrate myself before her[2]
2 And then I will tell of thy defeat; I will weep
3 For man Enkidu has not . .
4 A club that *annihilates* furious hostility,
5 A *weapon*[3] that mangles the foe,
6 A unique man,[4] that crushes the enemy,
7 A bulwark? . , that quenches the
8 Oh thou Gilgamish be my helper and I will be thy helper
9 this man what is he?
10 Thy equal[5] who is there? Thy equal who?
11 Be it that he is a lion , who is thy equal?
12 Be it that he is a , who is thy equal?"
13 The club which destroys the soul of life *he placed at his side*
14 "Lo! I will . [6] and may they also

[1] Or sag-ki na = *ina pûti šu* "before him", see MAG v[2], 69, 22, *ina pûti šu sarāpa ikbû* "they ordered (his seal) to be buried in his presence"

[2] The text has *TI ZU* not *EN-BA*, and *ab-du*, not DU-DU

[3] *ešdabba*, perhaps full form of ešda = *kakku*, RA 17, 168, K 10013, 8

[4] *ne-da diš* for *nita(ġ)-diš*, cf l 19, and *Phil*, Rev iii, 27

[5] ba = *māšilu*, cf *ma-šil ili*, IV Raw 33*, iv, 8

[6] *ne* after the unidentified sign cannot be the future 3rd plural since *meš* is used for the 3rd future plur in the next verb *gab-ba-meš* should be 3rd plur pret, and *e-meš*, future I take *ši-mu-un* as a precative as in *ši-im-da-nag ši-im-da-ku*, verily I will drink, verily I will eat, TC 15, 11, 102. *ši* has the force of "also" in most passages If *gabba-meš* is a future

15. Quickly will I . . .
16. . . turn back.
17. turn back.[1]
18. In thy purpose surely I will help thee.
19. O thou created a unique man
20 Huwawa in the house of cedars roared.
21. He beheld them, he gazed at them . . .
22. He shook his head, his head trembled
23 He cried out, he moaned
24. The heroes like . . . . did not . . .
25 Gilgamish in his might . . .

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

Rev II (IV)

Break of more than twenty lines

1 In the mountain
2 Gilgamesh . returned,
3 . .
4 *He took him by the hand* "Like what is it ?"
5 Then Gilgamish depressed, whose heart . . . , caused him to enter.
6 His servant Enkidu cried to him
7 "He that traps birds hastening let him turn to his place, he that captures men let him return to his *home*."
8 His servant Enkidu replied to him,
9. "A 'twice' man (?),[2] terrible, a capturer of men . . . .
10 Oh princely son, who bows down to the gods,
11 who stands constantly to make his prayers (?),

it must stand for *gab-ba-e-meš*, *Sum. Gr*, § 224 end The verb may be *igi-tāğ* > *igi-tāb*, where GAB (tāğ) is read *tab*, *dab*, and hence it would mean "they have seen" which makes no sense here

[1] What are *nimgal* and *denigal*? Surely phonetic spellings

[2] Cf III, 3

12. fierce lord, Gilgamish, who cares for Erech,
13. thy mother is the extremely wise creatress,
14. (thy) bearer, thy great mother womb (?), the extremely wise,
15. thy mother goddess, is she that knows the fate of orphan and *chieftain* [1]
16. He that traps birds returns to his place, he that captures men returns to his *home*
17 Born in the city art thou, an ox herd, a shepherd "
18 Huwawa cried out to Enkidu
19 " Enki has made hostile his speech toward me
20 A leader, whose heart rages mightily, treads the cane break behind (his) fellow
21 Like the wrath of heaven and earth is his rage
22 His he . wearing skin and linen he " [2]
23. Before Enlil and Ninlil they stood.
24 Enlil brought up his watchman from the sea
25 and Ninlil brought up him that sits in judgment
26 When he returned to Enlil and Ninlil,
27 " Why is it like this ? " he said [3]
28 let him depart, let him

## ADDENDA

Other texts which mention Gilgamish are edited in this supplement to my article Poebel, PBS v, 27, has already been utilized as a duplicate of Zimmern, KL 196 I regard the texts edited under III and V as parts of an epic or poem concerning Gilgamish and Zû

[1] *gù-e* perhaps for *gud* = *ašaridu*

[2] *KU-gar* Clay, YOS I, 53, 113–26, gives no value meaning to clothe, garment for *KU*, REC 467 See also CT 35, 3, 13–26 The reading *tuš-gar* = *ašābu* is excluded by the context So far as my vocabulary extends *gù-gar* = *ragāmu* is the only choice, i e KU(gu-u), Clay, ibid, 116 Read *gù-mu-un-da-gar* ?

[3] *eš* is the particle of direct discourse See Thureau-Dangin, RA 11, 154, cf. 13, 94, 15, PBS v, 152, vii, 7–9 (*e-še*) *ge-en* probably emphatic particle, *Sum Gram*, § 155

## III

Chiera, *Crozer*, 39, and Radau, *Miscellaneous Texts*, 12, are duplicates Before *Crozer*, 39, 23, is to be placed Radau, 12, 17–23. The Constantinople text was apparently a shorter tablet and hence the Obv of *Crozer*, 39, stood in the break between Radau 12, 16, end of Obv and l 17, beginning of Reverse. Although neither tablet mentions Gilgamish, the quotation in *Crozer*, 39, 2–3, from BE 31, 55, 6–7, seems to prove that the two tablets do represent one of the Gilgamish myths Not much can be deduced from the two texts "Like a lion he smote," Radau, 12, 3, refers to some combat and probably to a myth in which Gilgamish, and not his father Lugalbanda, smote Zû in the mountains and recovered the tablets of fate for Enlil [1] There is then reference to the shore of the Euphrates, and the might of the south wind (l. 7) which blew behind him and before him the . Then the woman (*nununus*) feared the word of Enlil (9–10), which must refer to Ishtar.

*Crozer*, 39, Obv , has a reference to the nest of the serpent and the storm bird Zû, in a passage similar to BE 31, 55, 6–7, where it is clear that Gilgamish smote the serpent and seized the young of Zû The context does not admit a rendering to convey the meaning that Zû seized the young of the serpent as in the Etana myth [2] In the similar texts, Poebel, PBS v, 16 and 17, there is repeated reference [3] to *amar* [d] *Zû* "the young of Zu" , 16, 13, *amar* [d] *Imi-dugud(ǵu) ú-ki-sig-ga-ba*

[1] See *Semitic Mythology*, 101 , Chiera, *Crozer*, 34–5

[2] See Langdon, *Etana*, 21, 42

[3] According to Chiera, *Crozer*, p 34, these texts are duplicates of CBS 14151, a large tablet containing the Sumerian legend of *Zû* and *Lugalbanda*. Late bilingual copies of this legend are K 4628 = CT 15, 41, and K. 5187 = CT 15, 43 The catchline of K 4628 is line 1 of K 5187 Is it certain that the Accadian fragment K 3454 (BA ii, 465–75) really belongs to the Lugalbanda Sumerian epic represented by OECT i, 1–10 CBS 14151 and other fragments (Chiera, ibid, 34) ? Were scholars right in assigning K 3454 to the same epic as that to which the bilingual tablets K 4628 and 5187 belong ? In any case two Sumerian epics existed, one incorporated a myth of Lugalbanda (father of Gilamish) and Zû, and one (not the Gilgamish epic) a myth of Gilgamish and Zu

*mi-ni-in-ku* "The young of the Zū in their nest sat", also l. 16. *amar-e-su*[1] "thy young", 16, 14 *amar ú-ki-sig-[ga-ba] arā-ma-ni-ib-gi* "The young in their nest roared", 16, Rev. 2 *û-na* ^d. ? ? ^2-(*gu*)-*e ú-ki-sig-ga-bi-šú arā-un-gí* "By day (or on that day) Zu (?) roared over his nest", 16, Rev 3
*amar-bi ú-ki-sig-ga-bi-ta gù-ba-ni-ib-gí-gí*
"His young raged in their nest" 16, Rev. 4
*i-dé-šú ú-ki-sig-ga-bi-šú arā-un-gi*
"Then he roared over their nest" 16, Rev 5
*amar-bi ú-ki-sig-ga-bi-ta arā* [3]*-ba-ni-ib-gí*
"His young roared in their nest" 16, Rev 6
*mušen-e a-nir i-im-gar an-e ba-teg*
"The birds made lament and came nigh to heaven" 16, Rev 7
*dam-bi* [4] *? -dúg-ga engur-ra ba-teg*
"His wife *wailing* came nigh to the Deep" 16, Rev 10
*mušen-e dam-bi-ir gù-ám-de-e*
The birds cried to his wife 16 Rev 13
^d *Imi-dugud(gu)-dé dam-bi-ir gù-ám-dé*
Zû cried to his wife. 16 Rev. 14
*amar-mu ú-ki-sig-ga-ba a-ba a-ba-dib*-da (?)
"My young in their nest who has seized (?) ?"

Chiera, *Crozer*, 39

Obv

1 *ba-rin* ? *kuš-bi nu-da*-ri (?)

2 *ùr-bi-a muš sub-nu-zu-e ú-ki-sig-ga im-ma-ni-ib-uš* [5]
Therein the disobedient serpent to (its) nest he pursued.

3 *pa-bi-a mušen* ^d *Imi-dugud-(mušen)-dé* [6] *amar im-ma-ni-ib-gar* [7]

[1] For *su* = *zu* "thy", see Kish 1932, 155, iv, 13

[2] Surely some variant reading for Zû

[3] Br 814 as on *Crozer*, 35, 5

[4] The wife of Zû is mentioned in the Accadian myth, KB vi, 54, 17, from the Sumerian original, CT 15, 41

[5] See BE 31, 55, 6

[6] Same writing, PBS v, 16, 15, Rev 14

[7] gar = *nasāḫu*, Var BE 31, 55, 7, *amar-bi šu-ba-an-ti*.

Before him, of the divine Zu-bird, its young he seized.[1]

4 [ . . . ĝur-sag-]gà im-ma-ni-ib-tu(r)

. . . . . . the mountains he entered

5. ki-sikil . . . . . šag-ĝul-ĝul

6 kug [$^{d}$ Innini . . ] šéš-šéš

7 . ud . da

8 gù-gí-gí-da

Remainder of obverse, l 10, $^{d}$ Innini-ge , 11, gù-mu-na-de-e, cries to him (her) , 13, ba-e-zal-la-ri, thou art surfeited , 14, . . . ám ir-ra-ba , 15, ám ir-ra-ba , 16, $^{d}$ Nin-[sun ? . . ] kur-ra PA-KAB-DU-ga-šú ba-ab-PA-KAB-DU

Ninsun (?) . . . gave as a gift

Long break

Rev

Lines 23–34 = Radau, *Miscel* , No 12, 24–35

Radau, *Miscellaneous Texts*, No 12

Obv.

1. ù-mu-un-ra a-má sag-[ga-ge ] ur-bar-ra-gim ur-[mu-un-na . ] [2]
2. $^{d}$ Am-an-ki-ra a-má egir-ra-[ge . ] [3]
3. ur-maĝ-gim sag-giš-im-ra-ra [4]
4. ud-bi-a [5] mu-ki-ta-ám giš-kua-[dib-dib-ba-ta-am] é-dul (?)-la (?)-ta-ám
5. gú íd Zimbir kug-ga gù- [6]
6. íd Zimbir a-nag-nag-da
7. á-găl-lu egir-ba mu-ni-in-bu pa-ba [7] mu-ni-

[1] This seems to be the sense of the passage , the disobedient serpent in l 2 is identical with the *Zû* of l 3, and the lines refer to some unknown myth in which Gilgamish conquered *Zu*. The parallel text, PBS v, 16, refers to Lugalbanda, father of Gilgamish and Zû

[2] See l 27 , *Crozer*, 39, 25–6

[3] l. 28 = *Crozer*, 39, 27

[4] l 29 = 39, 28

[5] l 30 = *ud-ba*, 39, 29

[6] l 31 = 39, 30

[7] *pa-ba* , cf. *pa-bi-a*, BE. 31, 55, 7. Here contrasted with *egir-ba*, hence " before him ", *ina appi-šu*.

Radau, *Miscel.* 12

8. *íd Zimbir a im-ma-ni ib-ra*
9. *nu-nunus e-ne-em an-na-ta ní-te-a-du*
10. *e-ne-em ^d Mu-ul-lil-lá-ta ní-te-a-du*

11–16 I can offer no intelligible transcription

l. 12, ^giš^šar gūg-kug-ga-ta (?) . . "In the sacred garden of willows"

Rev

18. *a-a-mu* . (cf. PBS. v, 27, 7)
19 *^d Am-an-ki* . . .
20 *ù-mu-un-ra tūr-tūr ba*-an-[da- ?]
21 *^d Am-an-ki-ra gal-gal ba-an-da-* [2]
22 *tūr-tūr-bi* dāg
23. *gal-gal-bi dāg zi* . .
24 *ùr* [1]*-má-tūr-ri* [2] *^d Am-an-ki ga* . .
25. *še-en-bun-na ud-zur-ám* [3]

L. 26 = l. 1, 27 = 1b, 28 = 2, 29 = 3, 30 = 4, 31 = 5, 32 = 6; 33 = 7; 34 = 8, 35 = 9

## IV

BE xxxi, 43, fragment from top of the obverse of a single-column tablet. Mentions Gilgamish

1. *mí-ŭr-ra* [4]
2 *egír mu-tin-an-na-ge* [5] *i-lu*
   The lady, Geshtinanna, wailing
3 *egír-e nu-mu-un-e guda gú-en* [6]
   The lady, for the child, the healer, the *gú-en* (wails)

[1] *ùr* in BE 31, 55, 6, *ùr-bi-a* is clearly a preposition, corresponding to *pa*, front, *egir*, rear

[2] Var *ra*, *Crozer*, 39, 23

[3] *Crozer*, 39, 24

[4] *nisirtu* "mystery"? Or *SAL + KU šeš-ra*? "The sister for the brother"

[5] For *geštinanna*

[6] *gu-en* is a title of Tammuz, cf *^d Dumu-zi-gú-en-na*, *Genouillac*, TSAI viii, 6 The *gu en-na* = *guennaku* is a syn of *ašib Nippuri*, and probably means "aristocrat of Nippur", the ancient Nippurian, Meissner, *Beitr* 81, 61-2.

4. *guda mi- ?-ra guda gú-en,*
For the healer, the . . . . ., for the healer, the *gú-en* (wails).
5. *ga-ša-an gi-ûg ga-ša-an ki-gal-la-ka*
The queen of the land of the dead, the queen of the vast land (lower world)
6 *ù-mu-un-ta áš-bi ta-áš-[dúg ?]* [1]
For the lord in loneliness wails
7 *en-ad-mu* [2] *nà-ĝi-li nu-til-la* [3]
" O lord of my lamentation . ."
8 *guda ù-mu-un é-da* [4] ? -ta.
" O healer, O lord, in the river . . ."
9 *ù-mu-un nun-na làl (?)-bi-šù ga* .
O lord, prince .
10 *a-šub-šub* [5] *ra-ra-?-ni dumu-gim* . .
O cast away, who like
11 *ù-mu-un* *[d]Gibil-ga-mes* Kiš[-(ki)-a .]
Lord Gilgamish, in Kish [6]
12 *a-šub-šub*
O cast away
13 *kalag-ga-ni ki*
14 *en-gal mi-rin* [7] (!) .

It is clear from the contents of this fragment that it does not belong to the Epic of Gilgamish, but to the Tammuz liturgies Here Gilgamish is identified with Tammuz precisely as in my *Babylonian Liturgies*, p 20, Rev 3 The Kish fragment establishes the parentage of Gilgamish. His father was Lugalbanda The dynastic list, OECT ii, 12, 12–19,

[1] *tašdug*, cf *tešdugga* = *ilkilu*, RA 18, 39, 11
[2] *ad-mu* in a Tammuz liturgy, SBH 75, 7 = 78, 37 = No 77, 1.
[3] Cf SBH 101, 50, IV Raw 18,* A 1 See OECT i, 5, 15
[4] *é-da*, Vars *i-da*, *id-da* = *ina nâri*, SBP 334, 23, Rev 3 See also Genouillac, TC xv, 12, 118 ff, *id-ta*, 17, 232
[5] *nadû*, cf PBS v, 144, i, 9, and *a-im-šub-šub* = *uštaddi-ši*, JRAS. 1920, 508, § 18 = *Ham Code*, § 213 But see KL 196, Rev II, 5
[6] Cf PBS x[2], No 5, obv 8 + 14
[7] Also KL 196, i, 9 Or *mi-é* ?

gives the order of kings of Erech, Lugalbanda, Tammuz, and Gilgamish, hence Tammuz and Gilgamish were brothers, as the liturgy in BL. ibid., l. 7, states For Gilgamish as Tammuz, see *Semitic Mythology* 235

V

BE xxxi, 55, a complete single-column tablet from Nippur

1 *šeš-a-ni ur-sag* *d Gibil-ga-meš gù* *ne-du*
His brother,[1] the heroic Gilgamish, called

2 *ib-ba-ru šáb-ba ninnū-ámi ib-ba-ni ba-an-dū*
In wrath (?) he raged in his heart .

3 *ninnū-ám eš-ib-ba-ši-in-ag*
he counselled with himself

4 *urud ĝa-zi-in-na-ni* [2] *ĝar-ra-an-na* [2] *ni*
His axe which breaks (?) the way,

5 7 *gùn* 7 *ma-na KA-ni šu-ni-a ba-an-dîb*
Seven talents and seven manas its . . . . , he seized in his hand

6. *ùr-bi-a* [3] *muš sub-nu-zu-e sag-giš-ba-an-ra*
Within the disobedient serpent he smote.

7 *pa-bi-a* [3] *mušen* *d Im-dugud(ĝu)-dé amar-bi šu-ba-an-ti* [4]
Before him of the Zu-bird he seized the young.

8 *ĝur-sag-gà ba-an-tu*
and to the mountains he entered

[1] "Brother" in sense of companion Gilgamish is called the "elder brother" of Enkidu, *Epic* vii, Col III, 40, and Enkidu calls him "my brother" Hittite version, ZA 39, 18, 19–22 See line 23

[2] *ḫassinu* occurs also in the Epic, Yale tablet, 166, it weighs 3 talents, made in preparation for the battle with Humbaba, also 124 In the Philadelphia tablet 1, 29–31, in dream of Gilgamish before meeting Enkidu, Assyr version, i, Col VI, 9 In the wailing of Gilgamish for Enkidu, viii, Col II, 4, where Enkidu is called the "axe of my side" In Hittite version ZA 39, 6, 6 (below) in battle with Humbaba Of all these passages, the text of BE 31, 55, suits the context of the Hittite version best, but it seems clear that the text belongs to the Lugalbanda-Zu myth

[3] See p 939, note 7

[4] See p 938, 7

9. *šab-bi-a kiskil-lil-lá-ge* (!) é im-ma-ni-in-dū (!)
Therein Lilîth had *built* her house
10. *a-ri a-ri-eš e ba-an-kár-kár-ri-eš*
Hostilely they plundered the house
11 *giš ùr-ba mi-ni-in-sir giš ba-ši-ni-in-dar*
Its foundation he overthrew and utterly devastated for her.[1]
12 *dumu eri-na mu-un-ne-lăǵ-eš-a*
(When) they had despoiled the sons of her city,
13 *giš-bi ni-tar-ru-ne gù-ba-an-sìr-ri-ne*
They cut down their wood, they assembled it
14 *kug d Innini-ra giš gu-za-ni-šú mu-na-ab-sum-mu*
He gave it to holy Ishtar for her throne
15 *giš nad-da-ni-šú mu-na-ab-sum-mu*
For her bed he gave it
16 *? -dé ùr-ba giš ?-ni-šú ba-ab-dim-e*
therein for her . . . . . he fashions it.
17 . *bi-giš-e é-duš-ni-šú ba-ab-dim-e*
for the house of her dwelling he fashions it.
18. *al dúg-dúg-gi TAR úr-ra ? ? mu-sur-e*
19 *dúg-dúg-gi-dū úr-ra ni-di na-mu-un-e*
20 *UD dumu nu-mu-un ?-a-ge-ne i* .
21 *gú numun ENZU ?-mu a-dag* IM-MAL-MAL-*dé*
22 . *tuk dumu-ni-ir ninda* mu-na-*ab-tum*
for his son bread he brought
23 . *tuk šeš-a-ni-ir a-mu-na-ab-de-e*
for his brother water he poured out [2]
24 . . *dingir-dingir-e um-ma-te-a-ta*
25 . *giš giš-gar-ra ka-zal giš ǵar* (?) *in-ǵur-ra*

This text appears to have no connection with the Gilgamish epic The only certain information which I can obtain from it is that Gilgamish seized the young of the Zû bird, which is

[1] Infix *ši* has here the force of a dative of disadvantage
[2] This phase ordinarily refers to the pouring of water for the souls of the dead

identical with the eagle of the Etana myth,[1] and Zû which stole the tablets of fate and was conquered by Lugalbanda, father of Gilgamish He then went to the mountains where *ardat lilî* or Lilîth had had built her house. Here, in the account of the destruction of the house of Lilîth, the verbs are plural. The subject must be Gilgamish and his brother, referred to in lines 1 and 23 Is this "brother" really Enkidu here? They utterly destroyed the house of Lilîth Gilgamish makes a throne and a bed for Ishtar After line 17 the text is obscure. Who is the "son" for whom Gilgamish brings bread? *Ur-Nungal* was the son of Gilgamish in the dynastic list [2]

Line 23 refers to his brother as though he were dead, but no reference to his death occurs in the text. Without more material on these myths it is impossible to place this text and the similar texts, *Crozer* 39 and Radau 12, in their proper connection

BE XXI, 31

Duplicate of Kish tablet II, 4–III, 10

1 *dumu eri-ki-za* mu-un-[de ]
The "sons of thy city" cried
(Kish, ii, 4)

2 *urú ġur-sag-gà-ka nam-ma* [ BU-*ne*]
A hurricane of the mountains . (Kish, ii, 5.)

3 *ama ug-ga-na-áš na-ra*
To the mother, his bearer, . (Kish, ii, 6.)

4 *giš-tug gištug zi(d) ama-na ba-*[*e-šig*]
True understanding, Oh heavenly mother, thou hast given (Kish, ii, 7)

5 *inim nam-ur-sag-gà túg-gim*[3] *im* .
A word of heroic power like a garment (Kish, ii, 8.)

6 *eš ib-ni mu-un-gūr-gūr gab* [4]

[1] See *The Legend of Etana*, 23, 13
[2] OECT ii, 12, 21
[3] Cf SBP 280, 12, Zimmern, KL 78, Rev 12
[4] Text does not correspond to Kish, ii, 9

7. *gud-gim uru-gal-la* [1] *ba-e-du*
   Like a bull in the "vast city" thou hast born (him). (Kish, ii, 10)
8. *gú sag-be-in-gar* [2] *inim-ba-an-da-sig* [3]
   He bowed to the earth (?); he made entreaty
9. *zi-ba* [4] *ugu-mu* *ᵈ Nin-sun(a)-ka*
   "O bestower of the breath of life, Ninsun (Kish, ii, 12.)
10 *a-a-mu kug* *ᵈ Lugal-bàn-da,*
   O my father, Lugalbanda, the holy, (Kish, ii, 12.)
11 *dug-ga ama* (?) *ugu-mu* *ᵈ·Nin-sun(a)-ka-kam* [5]
   By (?) the goodness (?) of the mother (?) my bearer Ninsun (Kish, ii, 13)
12 *ù-ki* (?) NE . *ma dim-e* [6]
13 *en-na galu-bi lili* [7] . [8]
   As long as this man *exterminates* men (Kish, ii, 16.)
14 .
15 *gĭr kur šu* . *mu urú-šú ba-ra-gub-bi*

[1] Kish, ii, 10, has *kigalla* Both words mean "under-world", but it is certain that they designate the "house of the dark chamber", a room in the temple, i e *gigpar* (*giparu*) corresponding to KL 196, i, 6 + 9

[2] *gar* not *sur* after Kish, ii, 11 For var *inim-gar* "to plead", v Chiera, *Crozer* 36, 44, *da-eri-šú inim-inim-gar* "forever plead" For *gú*, Kish, ii, 11, has an adverb, *gu*(?)-*ki-ám* = *šapliš*

[3] Var *inim-pa-an-da-šig*, for *inim-sig* (*sum*) = *emēku, šutêmeku,* to implore, cf inim-sĭg-sĭg-ta = *ina temek*, Th Dangin, *Rituels*, 71, 11, and the verb in AJSL 39, 176, 16 My copy *sag-* *-sig* "to hasten", is probably incorrect

[4] Sic ! where Var has *ama* The only known meaning of *zi-ba* is *napišta kâšu* "to bestow life" *zi-ba nam-ti-la-ge* = *kā'išat napišti balaṭi*, title of Gula, OECT vi, 57, 15, see the name of Gula's temple at Barsippa, *é-zi-ba-ti-la, bit ka'išat napišti balati*, VAB iv, 303, CT 37, 15, 68

[5] The construct inflection *Nin-suna-ka* proves that *Ninsun* means "Queen of battle", double construct *ka-kam* See on *ka-ka, Sum Gram.* § 139 and *ka-kam*, OECT i, 46, 26 The construct before *Nin* must be *dug-ga*

[6] Line 12 takes the place of Kish, ii, 14–15

[7] Written Br 6408 without final *lu*

[8] I can make no reading from my copy, *ga-ám a-ba-aš* ! Kish, ii, 16, *ģe-im-ma-ab-za-ám* A reading ZA (zag-ga) = *ṣabāru* "to seize" is possible, VAT. 10172, i, 18 = YOS i, 53, 15 = CT 35, 1, 2 Also ZA(sa-a) = ka-ka-ši-ga, VAT 10171, i, 17, where ZA with value *sā* follows A + HA (za-aģ) = *ḫalāḳu*, cf *Bab* vii, 87

My foot which . . in the city may I not set (Kish, ii, 17)

16. *arad zi* *nam-til* . . *tu-tu*" (Kish, ii, 18)

17 *lugal-a-ni-ir gù-mu-ne-ib-[gí]*
To his king he called, (Kish, ii, 20)

18. *lugal-mu za-e galu-bi igi-nu-mu-ni-dŭ-e*

19 *šag-nu-mu-ni-ib-dib-bi*
"My king thou art This man thou hast not seen
He has not enraged (thy) heart.

20 *mà-e galu-bi* igi-mu-ni-dŭ-a-ni (?)
But as for me, this man whom I have seen,

21 *šag-mu-ni-ib-dib-bi*
has enraged (my) heart (Kish, ii, 22)

22 *ur-sag gùg-gùg-du*[1] *gù ušumgal-la*
He is a hero that slaughters, a voice of the monster *ušumgal* (Kish, ii, 23)

23 *igi-ni igi Ug-gà-kam* (Kish, ii, 24)

24 *giš-gab-a-ni a-gè-a dú-dú-dam* (Kish, ii, 25.)

25 sag-ki-ni *gišgi-bil ka-a*

26 *galu nu-mu-un-gí-gí*
His front is flame, the mouth of Man cannot turn him back

27 *lugal-mu za-e kur-šú ū* . .
My king thou art To the mountain ride . . . (Kish, ii, 28)

28 *ama-zu ururin-ni*[2] *ti-zu ga-na-ab-dúg*

29 *dúg-dúg ĝe-be-dé*
To thy mother, that in her secret chamber understands to give life, I will speak, I will cry.

[1] Var Kish, ii, 23, *dé*.

[2] On *ururim*, *ururin*, underworld, see OECT vii, p 53, No 380 After analogy of *kigal* and *urugalla*, this word also means "dark chamber", a room in a temple corresponding to Arallu So in SBH 64, 7 = SBP 144, 15, *ururim-ma-mu* "my dark chamber"

30. *egir-ra ba-bad-zu*[1] *ga-na-ab-dúg*
31. *er-gig mà-mal*
And then I will tell of thy defeat, bitterly will I weep. (Kish, III, 2)
32 *galu-ra En-ki-du(g)* GALU + MIN *nu* BE-*e*
For man Enkidu . (Kish, III, 3)
33 *má-da-la kúr su-su*
A club that *annihilates* the foe,
34 *tukul Eš-tab-ba galu-kúr kud-de*
35 *ne-da-tiš*[2] *galu-kur*[3] *šù-šù*
A weapon that mangles the foe,
A unique man, that crushes the enemy, (Kish, III, 5-6)
36 *é-gi-sig-ga* (Kish, III, 7)
37 *za-e-ge*[4] *taǵ-ba*[5]*-ab*
Be thou my helper
38 *a-na-me* [*galu-ba an-nàm*]
. this man, what is he? (Kish, III, 9)
39 *ba-zu a-ba ba-zu a-ba*
Thy equal, who is there? Thy equal who? (Kish, III, 10)

[1] Var KA (zú), used for "thy", KAR 73, Rev 23, SBP 252, 5, *gú-zú mu-un-si-si-eš* = *ana šišîti-ka uškamam-ma*, RA 17, 120, Rev 6, *uzu-ni-zú* = *ramāni-ka*

[2] Copy corrected from Kish, III, 6

[3] *kur*, Var Kish, III, 6, *kúr*

[4] So my copy, but Var *giš-e*, clearly a better text.

[5] So read

[FOR ADDENDUM SEE FOLLOWING PAGE]

## ADDENDUM

Zimmern, *Sumerische Kultlieder*, 196, has also been edited by P. Maurus Witzel, OLZ. 1931, pp. 402–10. He has read *gū-an-na* and *gū passim*, not *ga-an-na* and *ga* for *gašan*, and consequently assigns this tablet to that part of the Epic which corresponds to Tab VI of the Assyrian edition. I cannot accept his interpretation of this tablet to avoid overloading my edition with obviously unnecessary and lengthy notes I must content myself by referring the reader to Witzel's edition. He was the first to discover that PBS. 27 is a duplicate of Zimmern's tablet

# Kalawān Copper-plate Inscription of the Year 134

By STEN KONOW

SIR JOHN MARSHALL'S excavations have again brought important results A new Kharosthī inscription has been found, which throws new light on the difficult question of the eras used in a series of Indian Kharosthī inscriptions belonging to the Pahlava and Kusāna periods In May last Sir John was good enough to let me have excellent photographs of the new epigraph, for the purpose of editing it in the *Epigraphia Indica* In consideration of its great importance, he has, moreover, kindly allowed me to publish a preliminary account in this JOURNAL

The find-place is Kalawān, a site about 3 miles south-east of Sirkap, in Taxila, on one of the many flat-topped eminences jutting out on the north side of the Margalla hills, the southern and western part of the girdle of hills which encircle the valley where the remains of ancient Taxila have been traced

The site contains remnants of a monastery, comprising a chapel, which was originally roofed over like the apsidal chapels at the Dharmarājikā stūpa and in Sirkap

The chapel contained good specimens of Gandhāra sculpture, belonging to an eight-sided stūpa, which stood in the eight-sided apse of the chapel

Under the foundation of the stūpa was found a copper plate, bearing a Kharoṣṭhī inscription in five lines, which Sir John has succeeded with his usual skill in cleaning, so that every one of the akṣaras has become prefectly clear, all the punctured dots of which the letters consist being distinctly visible in the excellent photographs The reading is, therefore, absolutely certain.

TEXT

(1 1) Samvatśaraye 1 100 20 10 4 ajasa śravaṇasa masasa divase treviśe 20 1 1 1 imeṇa kṣuṇena Camdrabhi uasia (2) Dhrammasa grahavatisa dhita Bhadravalasa bhaya Chaḍaśilae śarira praïstaveti gahathu- (3) bami sadha bhraduṇa Namdivaḍhaṇeṇa grahavatiṇa sadha putrehi Śamena Saïteṇa ca dhituna ca (4) Dhramae sadha sṇusaehi Rajae Idrae ya sadha Jivaṇamdiṇa Śamaputreṇa ayariena ya sarvasti- (5) vaana parigrahe rathanikamo puyaïta sarvasvatvaṇa [1] puyae ṇivanasa pratiae hotu

TRANSLATION

In the year 134 of Azes, on the twenty-third—23—day of the month Śrāvaṇa, at this term Candrābhī, the female worshipper (*upāsikā*), daughter of Dharma, the householder (*gṛhapati*), wife of Bhadrapāla, establishes relics in Chaḍaśilā, in the house-stūpa, together with her brother Nandivardhana, the householder, together with her sons Śama and Sacitta and her daughter Dharmā, together with her daughters-in-law Rajā and Indrā, together with Jīvanandin, the son of Śama, and her teacher, in acceptance of the Sarvāstivādas, having venerated the country-town, for the veneration of all beings, may it be for the obtainment of Nirvāna

I shall not, in this place, discuss the shape of the letters or the phonetical and grammatical features presented by the inscription That will be done in the *Epigraphia Indica*, where I shall also consider the possibility that *ayariena*, l 4, may be miswritten for *ayariana* I shall restrict my remarks to such details which are of importance for the wider questions about chronology and history

To judge from the palæography of the record, there cannot be the slightest doubt that it is about contemporary with the Taxila silver scroll inscription of the year 136, found and published by Sir John Marshall [2] There is also one significant

[1] Read *-satvana*

[2] *JRAS*, 1914, pp 973 ff

feature which is common to the two records, and to them alone the word *ajasa* before *śravanasa* in l 1 is clearly identical with the much-discussed *ayasa* preceding *aṣadasa* in the silver scroll

It is not necessary to recapitulate the various attempts at explaining the word I shall restrict myself to the two interpretations proposed by Sir John Marshall and myself.

Sir John translated the word *ayasa* "of Azes", and took it to characterize the era used in the record as founded by Azes. "The absence of any titles attached to the name of Azes is exceptional, but will hardly occasion surprise when it is borne in mind that his era had been in use for more than a century, and that his dynasty had been supplanted by that of the Kushans" Professor Rapson [1] endorsed this view, and added that "Azes could scarcely have been furnished with his wonted title, 'Great King of Kings,' in this inscription, without prejudice to the house then actually ruling"

The late Dr Fleet [2] disagreed and said "From the vast mass of inscriptional material which is now available I cannot quote a single record in which the name of a real king,[3] whether living or dead at the time of the record—or even of any official—is mentioned in such a connection without some title or another And for this reason, if for no other, I am of opinion that the word *ayasa* does not give a proper name." And in the same paper [4] he objects against Sir John's explanation, that if the translation "of Azes" were possible, it would "on the analogy of every known early Indian record" place Azes in the year 136 of some era not founded by him

Dr Fleet's objections have seemed to me to be decisive, and in my edition of the silver scroll inscription in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* I therefore proposed to

[1] *The Cambridge History of England*, i, p 582

[2] *JRAS*, 1914, p 997

[3] "I mean, of course, excluding the fictitious Vikramāditya and Śālivāhana."

[4] p 995

explain *ayasa* as corresponding to Sanskrit *ādyasya*, though I was aware of the phonetical difficulty connected with this identification I proposed to interpret the term as indicating that there was, in that particular year, a second intercalated Āṣāḍha, and since this would be the only indication in the older series of Kharoṣṭhī records which might furnish a clue to an astronomical calculation of the epoch of the era, I asked Dr van Wijk to investigate the matter And I made his calculations the starting point of the chronological system proposed as a working hypothesis in the *Corpus*

The importance of the new Kharoṣṭhī record is accordingly evident If it shows that my explanation of the word *ayasa* was wrong, my dating of all the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the old series falls to pieces, and we shall probably have to return to the old explanation that they are dated in an era which to all practical purposes is identical with the Vikrama era, and then we must, besides, assume another, older reckoning, which is used in the Patika copper plate, and, I may add, in some other old records

My first impression when I received the photographs from Sir John was that I had made a mistake, and that impression has since been so much strengthened that I now feel convinced that my old explanation is untenable

In the first place it seems hardly likely that Sanskrit *ādya* can appear both as *aya* and as *aja* in two records, which are almost contemporary, even if we assume the existence of the doublets *ādiya* and *ādya*

Further, if *aya asada* means "the first Āṣādha", *aja śravana* must mean "the first Śrāvana", and we should have to assume an intercalated *Śrāvana* in the year 134 and an intercalated *Āṣāḍha* two years later, in 136 Now Dr van Wijk has been good enough to inform me that this is impossible unless one of the years was reckoned as current, the other as elapsed And I do not think that anybody would be prepared to maintain that such was the case.

If we now return to Sir John's explanation it might be

objected that the only Indian form of the name Azes which is hitherto known to us is *Aya*, and that there is some difficulty in assuming a doublet *Aja* But this objection hardly carries any weight

*Aya* is certainly an attempt to render *Aza*, there being no proper Kharosthī sign for the voiced *z* In the introduction to my edition of Indian Kharosthī inscriptions I have shown that *z* is rendered in various ways, as *y*, as *j*, as *jh*, as *s*, as *sy*, and perhaps as *sr*[1]

The two forms *aya* and *aja* are, accordingly, parallel to the doublets *kuyula* and *kujula*, and from the viewpoint of phonology Sir John's explanation is unobjectionable

If it is accepted, as I believe it must be, the addition *ayasa*, *ajasa* need not, however, be taken to characterize the era as founded by Azes If such were the case, we might be inclined to raise the question why the word is never met with in older records, found further west than Taxila, and evidently dated in the same era A priori there is a certain presumption in favour of the assumption that the addition was not felt to be necessary there, because there was no other era in currency, but that it was deemed advisable to add such a designation in Taxila, because there people were accustomed to use a different reckoning And now after it has proved impossible to refer the Patika date to the same era as the bulk of old Kharosthī records, we must necessarily assume an earlier reckoning which was known and used in Taxila

Now there is another Taxila record which seems to help us to characterize that older era. In the Sirkap silver vase

[1] Corpus, pp cviii f The word *jaüva* mentioned as a doublet of *yavuga* should be cancelled As proposed by Professor Thomas, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1931, p 6, the final clause of the Patika inscription must be read as *mahadanapati Patika saja uvajhae[na*] Rohinimitrena ya ima[mi] samgharame navakamika*, the great gift-lord Patika together with the *upādhyāya* Rohinimitra, who is overseer of works in this Samghārāma Professor Thomas explains *saja* as *sadya*, and translates " at present *upādhyāya* ", but it seems more probable that *saja* is Vedic *sacā*, which Professor Rapson has traced in the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Turkestan Cf his remark in the *Index Verborum*, s v *ṣaca*

inscription of the time of Jihoṇika-Zeionises the year, 191, is preceded by a distinct *ka*, and before this *ka* Professor Thomas[1] thinks that he can see traces of a *sa*. Mr Hargreaves has kindly informed me that a careful examination of the original has not led to the detection of these traces, but they are clearly visible in a cast which I owe to his courtesy, and it is not the first time that mechanical reproductions reveal things that are not visible to our eye. Since the Jihonika inscription has been found at Sirkap, it is presumably older than the Kusāna conquest

Jihonika was probably a Pahlava and not a Saka, if we can judge from the name of his father *Manigula*, where *gula* seems to be old **varda*, cf the Persian name *Artavardiya*, for *v* does not seem to become *g* in Saka But the era used in the silver vase inscription seems to be characterized as a Saka reckoning, and to point to the existence of an old Saka era in Taxila And it is possible that the same era is mentioned in the Shahdaur inscription of Damijada[2]

In such circumstances it is understandable that it was felt to be convenient to make an addition where another era was used, in order to distinguish it from the older one, and the word *Ayasa* was chosen, because this new reckoning was used by Azes and his successors, and the name Azes was familiar from the numerous Azes coins in common use. The addition need not imply a reference to a definite person, King Azes. It is perhaps more probable that it was used much in the same way as *Saka* in the Jihonika record, or as we might say "Julian" or "Gregorian"

The oldest instance of the use of the new era would seem to be the Āmohinī tablet of the year 72, and if we bear in mind the facts that we have an Indian tradition to the effect that the so-called Vikrama era was an Indian institution, being founded by Vikramāditya, and that there is no instance of the mention of Macedonian months in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions

[1] l c, p 4, see Plate XVI*d* of the Corpus

[2] Corpus, No ix

which seem to belong to the Parthian epoch, the most probable theory seems to me to be that the era was of Indian origin, and not founded by Azes

The older era evidently came to Taxila in connection with the Saka conquest I think that Professor Rapson has made it as certain as certain can be that the Saka invasion started from Seistan to Sindh, and thence extended southwards, finally reaching Ujjayinī, and northwards, through Western Panjāb up to Taxila. It is apparently possible to follow the Saka progress in the inscriptions from Maira, Taxila, and probably also from Shahdaur and Mānsehrā On the other hand, we have no certain trace of it to the west of the Indus.

I have not been able to find any valid reason for rejecting the Indian tradition according to which the Saka advance received a severe check in Ujjayinī, through an Indian king, who became known by his biruda Vikramāditya, and who founded the first national Indian era. From the Indian viewpoint such an event must have seemed to be of the utmost importance, and it is very likely that the new era gradually spread over large parts of Northern India, to Mathurā, where there are no traces of an older era, and even westwards to the Saka stronghold in Taxila and farther

In the north-west we soon find another foreign dynasty, that of the Pahlavas, and I am unable to accept the current theory that the Pahlavas and Sakas were so closely associated that they cannot be distinguished We know that they had been constantly at war in former times, that the Sakas had been hardly pressed by Mithradates I, but reasserted themselves under his successors, till they were reduced by Mithradates II And we seem to know that the Kushāṇas, who later on conquered and replaced the Parthians in North-Western India, either were Sakas or at least acted as the successors of the Sakas

It seems to me that there was always an antagonism between the two peoples And if such was the case, it would be intelligible that the Pahlavas used a neutral Indian era in

preference to that of the Sakas, the more so because the former seems to have been more widely distributed But the Jihoṇika inscription seems to show that the old Saka era was occasionally still used, side by side with the new one, and we shall have to ask ourselves whether there are other inscriptions which must be referred to it And here we have almost no indications to guide us

The Maira well inscription seems to be dated in the year 58 and may contain the name *Moasa* [1] In that case it must be referred to the Saka era, and it would show that Moga had been ruling for at least twenty years at the time when the Patika plate was engraved The Mānsehrā inscription [2] is apparently dated in the year 68, and mentions a certain Lia, who may have something to do with the Ksatrapa Liaka of the Patika inscription Further, the Shahdaur inscription of Damijada [3] is perhaps referred to a Saka era

These records, and perhaps also the Fatehjang epigraph, would therefore probably belong to the old series, and it is a plausible surmise that the same is the case with the Loriyān Tangai, Jamālgarhī, Hashtnagar, and Skārah Dherī inscriptions of the years 318, 359, 384, and 399 respectively

The question about the starting point of the old Saka era has often been discussed, and various dates have been suggested Sir John Marshall [4] once thought of 95 B C, but is now inclined to go back to an earlier date, Mr Banerji [5] suggested 100 B C, Mr Jayaswal [6] 123 B C, and Professor Rapson [7] 150 B C, all approximately, and other possibilities have also been mentioned The fact is that we can only base our conclusions on general considerations, which can be viewed in different ways

[1] Cf Corpus, No VIII
[2] Corpus, No XI
[3] Corpus, No IX
[4] *JRAS*, 1914, p 986
[5] *Ind Ant*, XXXVII, 1908, p 67
[6] *JBORS*, XVI, p 240
[7] *The Cambridge History of India*, I, p 570

What we must do is to start from dates which can be derived from records dated in the later era, and from the results of numismatic or archæological research, and then try to find out whether some of the persons and events connected with the older reckoning can be brought into relation with the facts thus ascertained And it is perhaps possible to arrive at some approximative results in this way

If the dates of the Āmohinī tablet of the year 72, the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of the year 103, the Panjtār record of 122, the Kalawān plate of 134, and the Taxila scroll of 136 are referred to elapsed Kārttikādi Vikrama years, they roughly correspond to A D 14, 46, 65, 77, and 79 respectively We should accordingly have to infer that Gondophernes was on the throne in A D 46, having perhaps come to power in A D 20 In A D 65 the Kusānas had reached Panjtār and probably also Taksaśilā, and in 79, and presumably already in A D. 77, the Kusānas had already been established in the previous Pahlava realm for some time It seems to follow that the latest date for the sack of Sirkap was in A D 65 It can hardly have taken place much earlier, because Gondophernes seems to have had successors

The silver vase with an inscription of the [Sa]ka year 191, during the reign of Jihonika, was found in Sirkap, and consequently belongs to the pre-Kusāna period It is much worn, and may have been about twenty-five years old when it was buried, at the sack of Sirkap If such were the case, the approximate epoch of the Saka era would be 191–40 = about 150 B C This is, of course, nothing more than a mere estimate, but it seems to be supported by another line of argument

The Āmohinī tablet seems to show that Ṣoḍāsa was a Mahāksatrapa in A D 14 He was a Ksatrapa when the Mathurā Lion Capital was set up At that time his father Rājula was Mahāksatrapa, and the same was the case with Patika, who, in his turn, was not even a Ksatrapa in the Saka year 78 We cannot, of course, say how long time would be likely to pass between Ṣoḍāsa's rule as Ksatrapa and his

promotion to the rank of Mahākṣatrapa, or how long it would take for Patika, who was apparently a young man in the Saka year 78, to become Mahākṣatrapa. A few years might be sufficient But if we suppose, for the sake of argument, that Ṣoḍāsa was 65 years old in A D 14 and 25 at the time of the setting up of the Lion Capital, that event would approximately belong to 25 B.C If the Mahākṣatrapa Patika were about 65 years old at that time, and about 20 at the date of the Taxila copper plate, the latter would roughly belong to 70 B C, and its epoch would be c 79 + 78 = 148 B C

If we assume an epoch of the old Saka era about 150 B C., we should like to find out how it was established, and here again we are reduced to mere guesses

It is evident that the idea of an era came to the Sakas from outside, through their dealings with peoples who were accustomed to the use of eras They may have taken it over from the Greeks, whom they replaced in Baktria, or from the Parthians, against whom they were continuously at war from shortly before the middle of the second century B C Now, since the epoch of the era can hardly be much earlier than 150 B C, the latter alternative seems to be the most likely one.

We learn from Chinese sources [1] that the Sakas were driven out from their old strongholds by the Yue-chi in or about 165 B C We are further told how the Great Yue-chi went towards the west and made themselves masters of Ta-hia, while the Sai-wang went southwards and made themselves masters of Ki-pin, and we get the impression that these two events happened at the same time The Yue-chi conquest of Ta-hia is said to have coincided with the death of Shan-yu (174–160 B C), and 160 B C therefore seems to have been the time when the Sakas occupied Ki-pin.

Here they soon came into contact with the Parthians. According to Justin, Mithradates I (c 171–138) enlarged

[1] See the references *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, II, i, pp lii ff.

the boundaries of the Parthian empire until it reached from the Hindukush to the Euphrates, and according to Orosius he conquered all the peoples between the Hydaspes (i e. the Medus Hydaspes) and the Indus.[1] Strabo distinctly tells us that the Parthians brought force to bear on the Skythians, and if the Saka era was founded about 150 B C, that must have happened during these fights with the Parthians

Under Mithradates' successors Phraates II (138–128) and Artabanus I (128–123) the Sakas repeatedly defeated the Parthians, and probably consolidated their power, especially in Seistan But Mithradates II (123–88) was more successful, and established Parthian suzerainty over the Sakas

The Saka invasion of the Indus country seems to have been the result of the pressure of the Parthian power, and not of the decline of Parthian strength after the demise of Mithradates II[2] In the Saka year 58, i e perhaps about 92 B C, we seem to find Moga in the Panjāb, and shortly afterwards a Saka ruler appears at Shahdaur, and in the year 68, i e about 82 B C, a chief Lia seems to be mentioned in the Mānsehrā inscription, who may, or may not, be identical with the Ksatrapa Liaka of the Patika plate of Saka 78, i e perhaps about 72 B C

Even if Moga was the first Saka ruler who entered India, which is by no means certain, the Saka invasion must accordingly have begun during the reign of Mithradates II At the time of the Patika plate, Moga must, moreover, have been reigning for at least twenty years, if his name was actually found in the Maira well inscription of the year 58.

In such circumstances it is perhaps not probable that the accession of Azes should have taken place so late as 58 B C, another indication that he cannot have been the founder of the "Vikrama" era

Professor Thomas[3] has shown that it was the Parthians

[1] Cf Rapson, *The Cambridge History of India*, i, pp 458 and 568

[2] Otherwise Rapson, l c, p 568

[3] *JRAS*, 1906, pp 193 f, cf Rapson, l c, p 561

who made an end to the Greek dominion in Ariana, and the Azes dynasty played an active rôle in that development. It remained in power till it was overthrown by the Kusāṇas, to whose time the new Kalawān copperplate as well as the Taxila silver scroll belong

There has been considerable dissension about the identity of the Kusāna ruler mentioned in the latter record, though Professor Rapson [1] declares that he is almost certainly to be identified with Wima Kadphises The question is not merely academic If Wima Kadphises was ruling at the time of the silver scroll, i e probably in A D 79, it might be possible to ascribe the foundation of the historical Śaka era to his successor Kaniska, but not so if the Kusāna sovereign of the scroll was Kujūla Kadphises And there seem to be rather strong reasons in favour of the latter alternative

The most important ones have been summarized by Sir John Marshall [2] The monogram on the scroll is no doubt characteristic of coins of Wima Kadphises, but it is also found on coins of his predecessor The title *mahārāja rājātirāja* is used by both Kadphises kings Kujūla Kadphises' coins are found in Taxila in larger numbers than those of any other kings except Azes I and Azes II "It would be natural for the first emperor of the dynasty to be styled 'the Kushan Emperor' without any further appellation, while it would be equally natural for his successors to be distinguished from him by the addition of their individual names" And "the stratification of coins at Taxila shows that Kujūla-Kadphises succeeded the Pahlava kings there, and consequently he can hardly have conquered the country before *circa* A D 50, and, inasmuch as his coins betoken a fairly long reign there, and he is known from other sources to have lived to a great age, he may well have been ruling in the 122nd and 136th years of the era of Azes, i e approximately in A D 65 and 79".

[1] l c, p 582.
[2] *JRAS*, 1914, pp 977 f.

It seems to me as if this view is the only one which can be brought into accordance with the information that can be derived from Chinese sources

The account of the events which led to the Kuṣāṇa empire are narrated in the Hou Han-shu, written by Fan Ye (died A D. 445), and has been translated by M Chavannes [1] and others Fan Ye states that "the notes which Pan Ku has written on the configuration and the manner of the various (Western) countries, are detailed in the book of the older (Han), now I have chosen what in the events of the period Kien-wu (A D 25–55) or later was different from what has already been said formerly, and I have compared the chapters on the Western countries on that, all the facts have been related by Pan Yung at the end of the reign of the emperor Ngan (A D 107–25)"

It seems to me that we must necessarily draw the conclusions, which have been drawn by leading sinologists, that Kujūla Kadphises did not start on his career of conquest before A D 25, and that the whole development, including Wima Kadphises' achievements, had been completed in A D 125

We are told about K'iu-tsiu-k'iu, i e Kujūla Kadphises, that he was originally the *hi-hou* (*yavuga*) of Kuei-shuang, that he attacked four other *hi-hous*, and styled himself king, the name of his kingdom being Kuei-shuang

The titles occurring on the silver scroll, *maharajasa rajatirajara devaputrasa Khusanasa*, and on some Sirkap coins *maharajasa rajatirajasa Khuṣanasa yavugasa* look like illustrations of the narrative of the Hou Han-shu

We further hear about K'iu-tsiu-k'io that he invaded An-si and seized the territory of Kao-fu, that he triumphed over P'u-ta and Ki-pin and entirely possessed those kingdoms, and that he died more than eighty years old

An-si is, as has long been recognized, the Chinese rendering of an old *ar-sak*, and can be translated "Parthian". Since the

[1] *T'oung Pao*, II, VIII, pp 149 ff

immediate result of the invasion of An-si was that K'iu-tsiu-k'io seized the territory of Kao-fu, An-si can only signify the Parthians who had made an end to the Greek power in Ariana The coins on which Kujūla Kadphises' name is coupled with that of Hermaeus have usually been considered to prove that Kujūla Kadphises was for some time associated with the last Greek ruler of Kabul Sir John Marshall has, however, pointed out to me that such an inference is by no means warranted It is quite possible that Hermaeus coins were struck after he had been replaced by the Parthians, and in that case the joint coins would only show that Kujūla Kadphises during or before his forward move against the Parthians sought and found the support of the adherents of the old Greek rulers

After having made himself master of the Kābul country, K'iu-tsiu-k'io extended his territory eastwards to P'u-ta (old pronunciation *P'uk-d'ât* or *Buk-d'ât*), which has not been identified, and Ki-pin, which cannot in this connection mean Kashmir, but probably the Gandhāra country

It seems to me that it is necessary to draw the inference that the Kusāna ruler mentioned in the Panjtār and silver scroll inscriptions of A D 65 and 79 respectively, must be identified with Kujūla Kadphises

The reduction of An-si and Ki-pin cannot have been completed at the date of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription, i e in A D 45, and probably not for some time after that date, for Gondophernes had successors who preceded the Kusāna conquest And in spite of Professor Rapson's remarks in this JOURNAL, 1930, p 189, I think that Kujūla Kadphises is mentioned as a prince, *erjhuna*, on the Takht-i-Bāhī stone When I examined the original in Lahore I could not detect any traces of lettering after *Boyanasa*, l 4, or between *Kapa* and *sa* in l 5, no more than between *Gudu* and *vharasa* in l 1, where all reproductions show such traces Even if my interpretation of the words *erjhuna Kapasa* is wrong, we must not forget that the Hou Han-shu seems to describe Kujūla

Kadphises' conquests as effected during a comparatively short period, and if his eightieth year falls earlier than A D 65, he must have been an old man when he began his vigorous career.

Moreover, we must not forget that Wima Kadphises is never designated as a Kusāṇa on the coins which bear his name, and that the Hou Han-shu attributes to him the re-conquest of T'ien-chu or Shen-tu, which cannot well mean the country about Taxila

Wima Kadphises seems to have had a long reign, and was perhaps succeeded by other Kuṣāna rulers, older than Kaniska. One of them may have been the Vamatakṣama of the Mathurā inscription published by Professor Vogel[1] and Mr Jayaswal[2]

We may, however, abstract from those possible successors. But if Wima Kadphises were the ruler mentioned in the silver scroll, he was on the throne in A D 79, or, if we reckon with current years, in A D. 78 And if the Śaka era was founded by Kaniska, he must have succeeded him in that very year, and we should not understand why he founded a new era More-over, Kaniska would be the Yue-chi whose forces were defeated by Pan-ch'ao towards A D 90, whereafter "the king of the Yue-chi did not fail to send every year the tribute imposed upon him" I agree with Professor Sylvain Lévi,[3] that "it was not Kaniska, at the apogee of his reign and power, who consented to such a humiliation".

It seems to me that the attribution of the historical Śaka era to Kaniṣka leads to impossible results It has no traditional account in its favour, and as emphasized by the late Dr Fleet,[4] the era is emphatically marked as a southern reckoning The only Indian tradition about its origin is that it is a *Śaka*-kāla, and was founded by a ruler who re-established

[1] *Annual Report Arch Surv*, 1911–12, pp 120 ff

[2] *JBORS*, vi, pp 12 ff

[3] *JA*, ix, i, 1897, p 26, cf Boyer, *JA*, ix, xv, 1900, p 549

[4] *JRAS*, 1913, p 987

*Saka* power in Ujjayinī And, as I have stated elsewhere,[1] this account of a re-conquest strikingly reminds us of the unexplained remark in the Hou Han-shu that Yen-kao-chen *again* conquered T'ien-chu. I can hardly think that this coincidence can be explained otherwise than through the assumption that we have to do with two layers of one and the same genuine tradition We know nothing about any connection between Kaniska and Ujjayinī, but we know that Wima Kadphises reconquered Sindh, which had been the starting point of the old Saka conquest of Ujjayinī And if the Kusāṇa ruler of the silver scroll is Kujūla Kadphises, Wima Kadphises' reconquest was apparently effected while his octogenarian father was still alive

The era founded by him was calculated to commemorate the Saka reconquest of Mālava, where it was subsequently used by the Saka rulers But it was not introduced in the northern provinces, where the Kusānas had already been in power for some time, and where the dated records of this period are, besides, all private documents

It seems to me that the Kalawān inscription, in showing that the word *ayasa* in the silver scroll cannot be used for an astronomical calculation of the era, has made it as good as certain that we have to do with an epoch practically identical with the Vikrama era, and that it will therefore be necessary to assume the existence of an older reckoning, which the Jihonika silver plate and perhaps the Shahdaur inscription show was a Saka reckoning And it seems likely that Professor Rapson was right in proposing approximately 150 B C as its epoch

We must, I think, further draw the conclusion that the Kaniska era has its epoch in the second century A D , and if the Khalatse inscription of the year 187 belongs to the time of Wima Kadphises, as I believe it does, it cannot be earlier than about A D 139 Professor Luders has long ago [2] main-

[1] e g , Corpus, p lxvii

[2] *SBAW*, 1912, p 830.

tained that one indication points to a date between A.D. 130 and 168

There cannot be any doubt about the importance of the new record, and it is to be hoped that this preliminary account will induce other scholars to give their comments so that they can be utilized for the edition in the *Epigraphia*

There are, besides, other interesting details in the record We learn to know the name of a village or township just outside Taxila, *Chadaśila*, where the last component, *śila*, is evidently the same as in Takṣaśilā And our vocabulary is enriched with the word *gahathuba* (*gṛhastūpa*), which evidently means a stūpa in a building which is roofed over Also the instrumental plural fem *snusaehi* is of interest, and shows that Pischel's remarks in his *Prakrit Grammar*, para 376, must be modified But the discussion of such features has not the same general interest as the chronological questions mentioned in the preceding pages

The importance of the new Kharoṣṭhī inscription for the history of Gandhāra art is evident The sculptures found in the Kalawān stūpa are said to be of good old style, and since the copper plate was deposited under the foundations of the stūpa, it makes it possible to date them approximately On the other hand, the late image inscriptions of the years 318, 384, and 399 would, if they are dated in the old Saka era, show that these sculptures approximately belong to the years A D 168, 234, and 249, while the Mamāne Dherī pedestal inscription of the Kaniska year 89 would be only a little earlier than the Hashtnagar pedestal

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# Human Remains from Jemdet Nasr, Mesopotamia

By HENRY FIELD, Assistant Curator, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago

DURING the past ten winter seasons the Field Museum–Oxford University Joint Expedition has been conducting archæological excavations on the site of the ancient city of Kish, which according to the texts, was "the first city founded after the Flood"

Kish is located between the present beds of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, and lies 8 miles due east of the ruins of Babylon

Jemdet Nasr is a low mound 18 miles north-east of Kish, where the Expedition has found painted monochrome and polychrome pottery (Geometric II of Susa), pictographic tablets in linear script, and other important archæological material These specimens have thrown a flood of light on the cultural attainments of the inhabitants of Mesopotamia during the fourth millennium before the Christian era

Since Jemdet Nasr was destroyed by fire approximately 6,000 years ago, it was most desirable to discover if possible human skeletal remains, so that some knowledge of the physical characters of the ancient inhabitants might be acquired In March, 1928, Mr L C Watelin, field director of the Expedition, decided to close the excavations at Kish for the season, and to employ 120 workmen at Jemdet Nasr for a period of two weeks

Six human skeletons were discovered during the progress of the excavations, but owing to the poor condition of the bones, only fragmentary parts of each skeleton could be preserved. At Jemdet Nasr the floors of the small rooms were reached at an average depth of from 50 centimetres to 2 metres. The following notes were recorded with each specimen :—

No. J N. 1. Fairly complete skeleton found at a depth of ¾ metre at the eastern end of the mound. The skull and long bones were badly crushed The grave furniture consisted of one unpainted pottery vessel

No J N 2 A fragmentary skull found at a depth of 50 centimetres The skull was badly crushed and no observations were possible Grave furniture consisted of two badly broken painted pots and a number of individual beads

No J N. 3 A flattened skull found at a depth of ¾ metre slightly east of J N 1 Grave furniture consisted of a painted kettle and two unpainted pottery jars

No J.N 4 A complete skull found at the western side of the Tell at a depth of 1¼ metres The skull was slightly crushed, but the following observations were possible before removal from the surrounding earth

The sutures appeared to have been closed during life, which suggests that the individual was of middle age The inion was markedly prominent, but there were no parietal eminences This latter observation is of particular interest, since the majority of Kish crania show the development of these bosses to a marked degree The supraorbital ridges were not very pronounced, and from the general lack of roughness due to muscular attachments, and from the sharpness of the ridges in the orbital sockets, I was inclined to believe that this individual was a female The pelvis, however, was lacking and the long bones were beyond the power of preservation, so that accurate determination of sex was impossible

The most important observations were on the length and breadth of the skull, which was measured with standard head callipers It was impossible to obtain accurate measurements, but the greatest occipital length was approximately 195–8 millimetres There was apparently little distortion in the actual length of the skull, but lateral pressure had undoubtedly caused some slight changes in the original width, which I estimated to have been about 100–15 millimetres

It will readily be seen that the cephalic index based on these figures must have been between 60 and 65. This index is extremely low even for a hyper-dolicocephalic individual, and from personal observation during excavation I am confident that this individual belonged to a dolicocephalic group Furthermore, there was no possibility of this having been an intrusive burial, since the archæological objects found in the immediate neighbourhood belonged to the early period, and there was no evidence of disturbance in the superimposed strata.

No grave furniture was found with this skull, but fragments of broken painted and unpainted jars were closely associated with these human remains.

J N 5 A fragmentary skull found near J N. 4 at a depth of 1¼ metres There was no grave furniture.

J N 6 A very fragmentary skeleton found in the centre of the Tell at a depth of ¾ metre There was no grave furniture.

Since one skull (J N 4) is the only complete specimen yet found associated with this particular culture, it is of considerable importance to be able to assert that it was extremely dolicocephalic in form I suggest tentatively that this individual belonged to a Proto-Mediterranean [1] group, who migrated eastwards from the North Arabian or Syrian Desert when this area, once inhabited by palæolithic and neolithic man [2] became inhospitable owing to climatic changes.

Umm Jeraz, a newly discovered site near Jemdet Nasr, is believed to contain similar archæological material, and future excavations may throw additional light on these interesting problems

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[1] I suggest this term, since the terms Semitic and Proto-Semitic have a definitely linguistic and cultural connotation.

[2] Proved by Field Museum North Arabian Desert Expeditions, 1927-8.

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# MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

## TIME TAKEN BY THE STRIKE OF CEREBRAL *ɽ*

In the JOURNAL for July, 1924, p 436, I stated that the strike of a cerebral *ɽ* lasted not more than one 120th of a second. I was speaking of the commoner cerebrals *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṇ*, *ɽ*, especially the last, and was taking exception to the use of the words "firmly pressed" in describing the movement of the tongue in making them It seemed to me that it was a misuse of terms to say that there was ' firm pressure " in an action taking so short a time There is no more pressure in a cerebral than in a dental.

I do not now remember on what I based my estimate of the time taken by the strike of a cerebral *ɽ*, but no doubt the grounds for it were adequate Recently, however, a very interesting article in *Zeitschrift fur Experimental-Phonetik*, Band 1, Heft 1, Okt 1930, has furnished evidence that the statement was well on the safe side. In this article there is an analysis of a sentence spoken by Dr Babu Ram Saksena, who some years ago was a student in the School of Oriental Studies. He repeated the words *ek baɽe rājā rahte haĩ* at a rather slow conversational rate, taking two seconds to the five words. The diagrams accompanying the article enable one to calculate the length of each sound.

There are seven consonants (counting *h* as a vowel), viz. *k*, *b*, *ɽ*, *r*, *j*, *r*, *t*, Of these *k*, *b*, and *t* take the longest time, one-tenth of a second each ; *j* and the second *r* take seven-hundredths of a second each ; the first *r* takes six-hundredths of a second, while *ɽ*, the only cerebral in the seven, takes two-hundredths of a second This includes the time taken by the on-glide, the strike, and the off-glide. The strike is probably shorter than either the on-glide or the off-glide, so we may say with confidence that it takes less than one 150th of a second.

The statement in *JRAS*, loc cit, was thus comfortably within the mark

Putting the matter in mathematical language we may say that $k, b, t$ $g$, 2nd $r$ 1st $r$ $ṛ = 10$ 7 $6 \cdot 2$ Particularly noteworthy is the proportion $t$ $ṛ = 5$ 1 The dental $t$ in that sentence took five times as long as the cerebral $ṛ$.

*114* T GRAHAME BAILEY.

# NOTICES OF BOOKS

ŠĀYAST-NĒ-ŠĀYAST. A Pahlavi Text on Religious Customs, edited, transliterated, and translated, with Introduction and Notes, by JEHANGIR C. TAVADIA. Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien, herausgegeben von Seminar fur Kultur und Geschichte Indiens an der Hamburgischen Universitat. No. 3. 11¼ × 7½, pp. xi + 174. Hamburg · Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co, 1930.

In this excellent piece of work, Dr. Tavadia has performed a great service to Iranian studies, and in particular to that of mediaeval Zoroastrian customs West's translation of the *Šāyast nē Šāyast* in the Sacred Books of the East, meritorious in its time, had been long out of date and suffered, as did all West's translations, from a lack of linguistic control. This control has been assured far beyond expectation by the discovery since West's time of Middle Iranian texts of the western dialects The language of the seventh century has no longer to be interpreted from the Pahlavi script alone, which, although adequate for the period when the language was still spoken, proved to be seriously inadequate for a later period In minor points of transcription from the Pahlavi script, differences are likely to continue The choice between the historical orthography (e.g *d't* transcribed as *dāt*) and the attempt to give a phonetic rendering (e.g. *d't* read as *dāδ*) is not of much importance The reader can give the words the Sasanian pronunciation without difficulty. Dr. Tavadia has kept the historical orthography.

The numerous notes are of great importance and testify to the author's wide reading in this type of Pahlavi literature. Some details which awaken doubt may be noted On p. 58 *zahāk* is given the meaning "the last", by what is evidently an invalid deduction from a Pahlavi gloss to Av. *yazu-*. The word is more probably the same as the common *zhyad*

(cf. Ryberg, *Glossary*, s v , *zahyāδ*), which assumes various forms . *zha*, Y 19, 15, beside *zhak* for Av *bązu-* , *zhya*, Dd. 36, 100, with variant *zhyak* ; DkM. 755[8], *zahyāδ ı parkān* " depth of the wall ", Pahl Riv Dd , p 129, *zhya*. On p. 35 (to 9, note 4) the verbs are *āhuftan* " to uncover " and *nıhuftan* " to cover ", where *-h-* can only be explained from *-g-*, since Indo-Iranian *-s-* after *nı-* is Iranian *-š-*, cf *nıšastan*.

A valuable glossary is added containing the more important Pahlavi words Happily, we now have the facsimile of K. 20 in the excellent publication of the University of Copenhagen

A remark may perhaps be added on the problem of *ḪVḪt*, treated on pp 7–8 If we start from *ēt* < **aıta* O Pers *aita*, Av *aēta*, MPT *'yd* " this ", with the collateral form *ē* (cf *pat* and *pa*, which is written *p* in the early Persian fragment of the Psalms in the Syriac alphabet), this word could be represented in Pahlavi by *HNA* = *ēt*, ܐܝ *'y* = *ē*, ܐܝ *'y* = *ē*, but also by *HVḪyt* = *ēt*, a variant to *HNA* in AVM. 18 (*Pahl Texts*, p ٨٨), and hence probably by *HVḪt*, DkM 669[18] has *ḪVHyt'* after *gōβēt* To introduce an explanation it would seem that the following phrases could be employed · *ēt kū HNA AYK* (DkM 674[6], Vid 1, 2) , *ē kū 'y AYK* (DkM 667[1]), which appears in the early Persian Qur'ān Commentary as ای کہ (*JRAS* , 1894, p 439) , *ēt* or *ē* alone, and *ku* alone

The author has successfully edited a difficult text, for which Iranian scholars will be very grateful

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DIE RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE BEDEUTUNG DES YASNA HAPTAŊHĀTI Von O G VON WESENDONK. Untersuchungen zur allgemeinen Religionsgeschichte, herausgegeben von Carl Clemen Heft 3 9¼ × 6, pp. v + 64 Bonn u Koln Ludwig Rohrscherd, 1931.

It is no doubt to be attributed to the obscurity which hangs over the older parts of the Avesta that each student attains

to a different result. The religious terms, such as *vohu manō*, have been interpreted in nuances varying from purely abstract nouns to highly anthropomorphic divine beings. The authors of Avestan texts unhappily did not think to anticipate these difficulties, and the context does not decide To this uncertainty is added the small compass of the material which entices the student to use the dangerous *e silentio* argument, as is noticeably the case in the present book. Hence the reader will find on most pages assumptions or assertions which do not convince. As, for instance, that *yazata-*, *fravaši-*, and other words were introduced by the composer of the Yasna Haptahāti, or that *baga-* was deliberately rejected by Zoroaster *Yazata-* at least has its counterpart in the Indian *yajata-* and by the method which traces *rta-* to the Indo-Iranian period, *yazata* belongs there too As to the etymology of *fra-vrti-*, so much has been proposed that it is hardly worth while to point out a further possibility, that of a connection with *vrti-* in Av *hąm-varəti-* and Pahl *gurt*

The present study stresses the importance of the Yasna Haptahāti as a stage in the development of Mazdeism. Its difference from the Gathas is clear, but it is hard to believe that Zoroaster would have found much to object to in it. Too much is urged from the view that Zoroaster does not use certain words or phrases in the Gathas Surely we should remember that a large number of words occur only once there (*myazda*, *zaotar-*, *Yima*, and the like); the Gathas hardly contain systematic theology The matter becomes still worse when it is proposed to cut out passages from the Gathas as being not from Zoroaster At once there arises the confusion of unified and dissected Gathas and additional uncertainty. The etymological method to secure meanings is obviously dangerous, as when on p. 3 *haχəman-* is said to emphasize "die innere Haltung" of friendship. It is admittedly hard, however, to be satisfied with a *non liquet*.

The author has made a courageous attempt to bring light into this dark matter, and there are deductions of value to

be found here As to the date of Zoroaster, still in dispute, it is perhaps of interest to call attention to the name *parśuaš* "Persia" in the Nineveh inscription, the name of the country over which Kuraš was ruling in 630 B C "on the far side of Elam", *JRAS*, 1932, p 239 (cf Weidner, *Archiv. fur Orientforschung*, 1931) The same phonetic form is found in the ninth century for a district in the north-west of Persia. The word may therefore have retained its ninth century form in the Assyrian documents, but may equally well represent the phonetic form of 630 B C. In any case with *-śu-* and *-s* it represents archaic Persian compared to the Achæmenid inscriptions, and suggests the need of caution in pushing back the Gathas (compared to which *parśuaš* is equally archaic) to an early date

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ESQUISSE D'UNE HISTOIRE DE LA LANGUE SANSCRITE. Par JOSEPH MANSION, avec une préface de L de La Vallée Poussin $3\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp viii + 188 Paris Paul Geuthner, 1931 50 Frs

In this sketch of the Sanskrit language M Mansion has addressed himself to beginners in Indian studies, and has therefore attempted to compress much into small compass Details are therefore not to be expected, but examples are nevertheless happily frequent. A general view is given in the first chapters of the history and chronological data of India The discovery of Sanskrit by Europe forms an interesting chapter From chapters iv to xiii the linguistic history of Aryan India is traced from the Indo-Europeans to the modern dialects, and here the usual material is copiously quoted The triumph of Sanskrit as a literary language even among sects opposed to Brahmanic teachings, latest among the Jains, receives a separate chapter The difficult Problems of prakritisms in the Rgveda, of the language of the Epic, of the extent to which Sanskrit was a spoken language, and of

the invention of Indian writing, receive special treatment in four appendices.

It is a pleasant book to read and makes few provocative assertions, the author being rather inclined to criticize earlier hypotheses with a view to defining where knowledge fails.

It would be well if the non-existent Avestan "Yimeh", p. 44, were now forgotten

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ANDARJ-I AŌSHNAR-I DĀNĀK Pahlavi Text Series, No 7 Edited by ERVAD BAMANJI NASARVANJI DHABHAR. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp xv + 24 Bombay The Trustees of the Parsee Panchayet Funds and Properties, 1930.

This edition of the short didactic treatise Handarz i Ōšnar is the seventh in the excellent series of publications of the Trustees of the Funds and Properties of the Parsi Panchayet. Almost at the same time the original MS has been made available in facsimile by the University of Copenhagen Since the other MSS are copies of K 20, they are useful only to illustrate the scribes' treatment of the text

The author has prefixed an introduction in which the passages in Pahlavi mentioning Ōšnar the Wise are collected Here, as elsewhere in the world's literature, compilations of wise sayings are attributed to former sages. It is a favourite type of Pahlavi literature, and a comparative study of these Pandnāmak would be of interest

The Pahlavi text occupies pp 1–11, and is followed by an English translation Notes are appended in justification of many of the interpretations The translations are at times somewhat lax. Why should § 2 *fratom hunar pat martōmān χrat vēh* be rendered by "The first good quality for men is wisdom"? A weakness in the comparison of words is illustrated by *društ*, NPers درشت, compared here with Av. *darš-*. The type is good and approaches more nearly the

MS. forms than any other type used But it is well known that Pahlavi is far easier to read as written in the MSS.

It is to be sincerely hoped that this valuable series will be continued

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DENÂ VÂJAK I AÎCHAND I ATROPÂT MÂRESPANDÂN, or Some of the Sayings of Adarbad Marespand Transliteration and translations into English and Gujarati of the original Pahlavi Text, with an introduction by SOHRAB KAVASJI DASTUR MEHERJI RANA, B A $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp 25 Bombay · The Trustees of the Parsee Panchayet Funds and Properties, 1930

This little book offers a short Pahlavi text (the original is in Pahlavi Texts, ii, ١٤٤ fol ) with a translation It is regrettable to find Pahlavi still treated as an unknown language, for which any sounds were possible, after so much has been learned from documents of the Western Middle Iranian dialects Feeling for the language seems here to be absent All Pahlavi texts present difficulties, although the Pandnāmak should be among the easier owing to the large amount of this literary type which has been preserved. Unhappily the English translation here offered is at times not above paraphrase, and it is clear that the translator is not always familiar with common words, as in the case of *dēr-pattāy* This word is on p 13 transliterated *dêrpataê*, rightly understood to be "enduring long", but with the remark "lit you will be protector of long time ". It would seem that the well-known verb *pattūtan* "to last" were here confounded with *pātan* "guard"

It must be confessed that Āturpāt i Mahrspandān hardly receives justice in this book

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DIE SOGHDISCHEN HANDSCHRIFTRESTE DES BRITISCHEN MUSEUMS in Umschrift und mit Übersetzung herausgegeben von HANS REICHELT. I. Teil DIE BUDDHISTISCHEN TEXTE, pp. VIII + 72, 1928. M. 10. II. Teil DIE NICHT-BUDDHISTISCHEN TEXTE, pp. VIII + 80, 9 plates, 1931. M. 12. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ Heidelberg. Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung.

In these two parts we have an edition of the only substantial collection of Soghdian documents in the world, and the only collection of texts of the earlier period, that is probably of the second century A.D. The work is therefore one of outstanding importance for Iranian studies, the more so since there is little or no further material left to publish, unless and until further texts are recovered from Central Asia.

It is satisfactory to find that the texts are so admirably published. Those in the first volume are probably, so far as the transcription is concerned, in a final state. The translation too, is more or less complete, though there are still some obscure passages for scholars to exercise their ingenuity upon.

The texts in the second volume are much more difficult, but in this case the author has provided admirable facsimiles which are as clear as the originals. The early letters still contain a number of obscure passages. On looking through the copies which I made of these letters four years ago, I find certain variations, but the only one in which I feel satisfied that I have the better reading is the third word in line 6 of Document I, which seems to me to be clearly *'zw*, not *čnw*, as read by Professor Reichelt. In line 5 of the same document, the proper name is clearly *'rt . . . n* as in the transcription of the text, not *'rw . . . n* as in the translation.

The two later letters, Documents X and XI, are easily the most obscure in the whole collection, and I find my transcription varies at several points from Professor Reichelt's.

Document X bears an address, which Professor Reichelt has overlooked. It is at the bottom of the reverse in faint ink and r[...] fo[ll...]

*'kw čwny δ'rwn.*
*'ltwn yk'n γ'ny čyk.*

(The word *čwny* is indistinct and uncertain ) On the strength of this we can read the beginning of line 8 of the document *'ltwn yk'ny γ'ny* , a Turkish phrase "*Altun* . . *χan*" "the Golden 'Khan" seems indicated, but the second word is still a puzzle

I am inclined to see two other Turkish tags in the letter Line 2, fourth word, I read *γδ'šm*, Turkish *qaδašïm* "my comrade", and line 4, second and third words, *yγšy kšy*, Turkish *yaχšï kiši* "good man", but without complete confidence in either case.

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LES LIGURES COMME SUBSTRATUM ETHNIQUE DANS L'EUROPE ILLYRIENNE ET OURALO-HYPERBORÉENNE By JOSEPH KARST, Docteur-ès-lettres Prolegomena Pelasgica $10\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp xx + 144 Strasbourg Heitz & Co., 1930 RM 20

This is a most disappointing book Its subject, the pre-Indo-European population of Europe, is full of interest and the material for its study yearly increases There is every hope that a combination of specialists in the sciences of philology, archæology, and ethnology (in their various branches) would reach reasonably certain conclusions on some, at any rate, of the principal questions involved But in such work there are two essential principles: scientific methods should be most rigorously employed: no greater certitude should be claimed than the facts warrant Unfortunately to neither of these principles does Dr. Karst adhere The approach to the problem is purely philological; the author starts from the assumption that Basque is a descendant of the language spoken by the pre-Indo-Europeans, and he endeavours to discover in various modern

European languages words which are not Indo-European but are survivors from the "Baskoid" substratum.

This is obviously a promising line of attack, provided that due regard is paid to the recognized rules of etymology and phonetics. But the author is not only non-scientific in his methods, he is perversely anti-scientific. Consider, for instance, his theory that the English word "esquire" has nothing whatever to do with the low-Latin *scutarius* or the French *écuyer*, but is simply the Basque word *escuara, escuera* "gentilis, nationalis"; or his theory that to derive *hyperborœus* from the Greek phrase ὑπὲρ βορέαν "beyond the North wind", is "absurd from the geographical-ethnographic point of view", and that it must be derived from the Basque *hipar-gorri*, which he alleges to mean "the North wind". Even the self-styled philologists of the "British Israelite" movement have hardly succeeded in producing more richly clotted nonsense than this!

These and other philological excesses so completely undermine the foundations on which the whole structure is reared that in the author's conclusions no confidence whatever can be placed.

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CATALOGUE DU FONDS TIBÉTAIN DE LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE Quatrième Partie I Les Mdo-Maṅ. By MARCELLE LALOU (Buddhica, Deuxième Série · Documents, Tome IV) 11 × 7½, pp. 111. Paris · Geuthner, 1931.

The Bibliothèque Nationale is fortunate in being able to call upon scholars not upon its staff to catalogue its manuscripts in less-known languages, and no less fortunate in finding means to publish the catalogues when completed.

Mlle. Lalou, who has already earned the gratitude of Buddhist scholars by undertaking the editorship of the *Bibliographie des Études Bouddhiques* and by her previous published works on Tibetan, has made an excellent job of

her catalogue of the contents of the four Tibetan xylographs and one manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale and other Paris collections which answer to the description of *Mdo-man* or "Collections", *videlicet* of Buddhist texts of miscellaneous character The titles, translators, and other details of each text are carefully set out with cross-references to the Kanjur, Tanjur, and the individual *mdo-man* and elaborate indices are provided

*N R 7* G L M CLAUSON.

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THE TEMPLE OF THE TOOTH IN KANDY By A M HOCART Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of Ceylon Vol. IV. $12\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$, pp viii + 42, pls. 46, 26 plans. London: Luzac and Co published for the Government of Ceylon, 1931 £1 1*s*

Mr Hocart furnishes an account of the ritual of the worship in this temple which fills a gap, such an account has not been previously published, and it is well that it has now been completed with such careful attention to detail to form a complete survey of the whole Even those who would disagree with the English translation for "Tathāgatha" will find pleasure and profit in the study of the chapter describing the ritual as observed on many occasions, and explained by the principal monks concerned The accounts of the personnel and the utensils are very complete; the introductory summary of the history of the Tooth, though much condensed, is adequate for comprehension of its importance to the Buddhists and to the Government One cannot lightly accept the conjecture given as a postscript, a conjecture of anthropological fascination and only that. The ample description of the structure in the central shrine and in the accessory buildings is well supported by the photographs and the plans, credit is due to the draughtsman, D A L Perera, for such thorough delineation in the plans. The "conventional lion's head" (p. 7, line 10) is shown in

plan 12 facing page 11. It is the local form of the widespread architectural device found wherever Indian temple-architecture was the basis, in Java, Cambodia, and Ceylon it is easily recognized as the Shaivite essential to every temple-entrance, the Kirti-mukha which has evolved into an architectural device in Vaishnavite and Buddhist shrine doorways and entrance-porticoes The plans and plates in this publication will serve for study of the contributing elements, early Sinhalese, mediæval Sinhalese, and Pallava which made up the *rococo*, varied, and characteristic style now known as Kandyan, because it grew during a century of isolation from the European influences which dominated the maritime Sinhalese districts owing to European rule over them There is a valuable exposition of the lay-out of early Anurādhapura shrines and the relation of the Temple of the Tooth to the originals, however much it may be overlaid by mediæval changes. The investigation does not extend to any analysis of the sculpture and carvings from an archæological-art point of view, but it is adequately reinforced by the plans, photographs, and description of shrines at Nikavaraṭiya and Daṁbadeṇiya, which are of great interest in structure, and the few carvings which have survived spoliation. This feature of the publication, these plans and photographs, will prove a stimulus to students of Ceylon archæology to seek for the early symbolism of many of the decorative devices, and to trace the history of the evolution of the various elements. The material for beginning such a study has been provided, and will repay attention.

309 ANDREAS NELL.

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EL ISLAM CRISTIANIZADO. Estudio del " Sufismo " a través de las Obras de Abenarabi de Murcia. By MIGUEL ASIN PALACIOS. Primera edición, $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$, pp. 543, pls. 2, map 1. Madrid: Plutarco (S.A.), 1931.

It would not be easy to deduce from the title of this work the nature of its contents—a biography of Ibn 'Arabi,

the well-known author of the brilliant and audacious *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* and the ponderous and dreary *Futūḥāt Makkiyyah*, with an analysis and translation of some of his opuscula. Yet in crediting Ibn 'Arabi with attempting to Christianize Islam Professor Asin has at least one predecessor, Ibn Taimiyyah, who in his attack on the *Fusūs* [1] observes that "he says about all Being the like of what the Melchite Christians say about Christ"—thus nearly anticipating a remark which comes near the end of Professor Asin's second part It may be said at the start that the learning, industry, and charm of style for which the Madrid professor is famous are all conspicuous in this volume, which those who start reading are likely to peruse to the end of the second part—the third consists of translations

The biography is largely an autobiography, since it is industriously pieced together out of statements made by Ibn 'Arabi himself chiefly in the *Futūhāt* and the *Muhādarah*. Some further details are contributed by al-Maqqari and others Probably Ibn 'Arabi's assertions are trustworthy so far as they furnish the dates at which he was in particular places , otherwise one of three views (all recorded by his biographers) about them seems to be right Some thought he was an unscrupulous liar, as when he explained a wound in his head as having been administered by a Jinnī matron whom he had married and who had borne him three children , some supposed him to be the victim of hallucinations ; and some held that his words had some hidden meaning. Two observations may help us to decide between these conflicting theories. One is that his anecdotes ordinarily tend *ad majorem suam gloriam* , the other, that when he adduces witnesses to his marvellous experiences he takes pains to mention that those witnesses are dead (and so incapable of being cross-questioned) Thus having recorded that when a beardless lad he had been sent to see Ibn Rushd (Averroes), and having conversed with him in monosyllabic cipher had caused the

[1] *Bughyat al-Murtād*, p 86

philosopher to thank God that he had lived to see so marvellous a personage, he adds that he was present at Ibn Rushd's funeral, where also something unusual happened, witnessed by the traveller, Ibn Jubair, who was also dead The story in which he surpasses himself is of an experience at Konia Here he gave some hints to a painter, who, in order to test Ibn 'Arabi's knowledge, painted a partridge with an insignificant flaw. The painting was so life-like that a hawk mistook it for a real partridge and pounced on it ; but Ibn 'Arabi knew more about partridges than the hawk, and pointed out the flaw

Unfortunately, the statements of his admirers seem to be of the same quality as his own They assert that whenever money was given him he bestowed it all in charity. Some verses which he claimed to have composed in a dream suggest that this requires modification Asked in a vision by a jurist how he got on with his family, he replied —

My family beams with affection, nay glows,
Whenever with coin my purse overflows ,
But when it is empty, they frown and retreat,
And sometimes use language I dare not repeat

The jurist observed that the same was the case with all of us.

In the second part of the volume Professor Asin collects Ibn 'Arabi's precepts for the training and conduct of those who aspired to sainthood, and finds parallels to this mystic's ideas in the practices and utterances of Christian theologians, which he supposes to be the source of the former, though at times he finds the sources in the methods of Yogis or Buddhists. His arrangement of the matter is admirable, and some of the parallels which he cites are striking ; yet the results which he obtains seem insufficient to justify the title which he has given his work. If Christianity be identified with monasticism, which might seem to be his view, the celibate monk is surely separated by a wide gulf from the Sufi who may be, and often is, polygamous. Ibn 'Arabi

himself, apart from his Jinnī spouse, appears to have had a considerable number of human spouses If, on the other hand, Christianity be regarded as a system of doctrines and rites, it does not appear that Sufism took over from Christianity anything of either sort which the earliest Islam had not inherited. Hence the innovations, so far as they coincide with Christian theory or practice, seem scarcely sufficient to constitute a Christianization of Islam But there seems no reason to dispute Professor Asin's opinion that some of them were the result of association between Muslim and Christian devotees, which indeed is otherwise attested

It may seem to some that Professor Asin has overrated both the eminence attained by Ibn 'Arabi in his lifetime and the influence exercised by his works after his death. The former rests mainly on his own statements, which have to be accepted with caution, one surprising assertion which Professor Asin reproduces must be laid to the charge of the editor of the *Muhādarah*. This is that on the faith of a dream he foretold the success of the Seljuq Sultan 'Izz al-dīn Kaikaus I in his expedition against Antioch in the year 612 The storming of Antioch (which was not recovered from the Crusaders till 666) would surely have been mentioned by the historians The name Antioch (انطاكية) is a corruption for *Antaliah* (انطالية), in the neighbourhood of Istanus, the storming of which by this Seljuq of Asia Minor is duly recorded in the chronicles of that Dynasty.[1] Ibn 'Arabi's story is not above suspicion, for he saw (he says) in his dream how the Sultan used artillery against the place, stormed it, and slew its commander In the verses which he sent he interprets the artillery as the Sultan's plans. Now the Sultan did in fact use artillery, but ultimately stormed the place with scaling-ladders. The signs of a *vaticinium ex eventu* in the verses seem fairly clear

The order called after him is regarded as a ramification of that founded by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Gīlānī, to whom, if Ibn

[1] Houtsma's collection, iv, 51–3, iii, 124–8

Taimiyyah is right, Ibn 'Arabi traced the pedigree of his *khirqah*, and of whom he speaks as "the ruler in this path".[1] Still Le Châtelier's assertion that in parts of India Ibn 'Arabi's name is more highly venerated than 'Abd al-Qādir's is in accordance with the importance which Professor Asin attributes to him. Orthodox Islam is on the whole indisposed to forgive him for his *Fuṣūṣ*

It should be added that Professor Asin's admiration for his compatriot has not prevented him from faithfully recording matters which are likely to prejudice the reader against this Islamic saint. For one anecdote which shocks beyond measure he resorts to the Latin tongue. Further, though the *Fuṣūṣ* advocates a degree of religious toleration at which even our age has scarcely arrived, the fact is not concealed that in giving practical advice concerning the treatment of Christians in an Islamic state Ibn 'Arabi adopts a tone of the fiercest intolerance permitted by the code. There is something after all to be said for von Kremer's judgment of Ibn 'Arabi in his *Herrschende Ideen.*

*517* D. S. M.

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LES SOURCES INÉDITES DE L'HISTOIRE DU MAROC Publiées par PIERRE DE CENIVAL 2me Série Dynastie Filalienne : Archives et Bibliothèques de France. Tome IV, Mai 1693 - Novembre 1698. 11 × 8. Paris · P. Geuthner, 1931.

This volume consists of the reports sent to the Government of Louis XIV by P. Estelle, Consul at Tetouan, and his son J B Estelle, Consul at Salé, with various other documents bearing on the relations between Morocco and France, and in a lesser degree Morocco and other powers, during the years mentioned in the title. The most important affair with which they deal is the embassy of Pidou de Saint-Olon, sent at the request of Moulay Isma'il to negotiate a peace between France

[1] *Futūḥāt*, ii, 24

and Morocco; the story of this is told by Saint-Olon himself, by the consuls, and by the Sultan and one of his agents. Morocco was at that time busily engaged in piracy, and the purpose of the embassy from the French point of view was to secure an exchange of prisoners and safety for French shipping, the Sultan of Morocco wanted the use of the French navy and army for the expulsion of the Spaniards from Africa and the conquest of Spain, the mission was naturally a failure Sismondi in his voluminous *Histoire des Français* makes no mention of this embassy; but the account which he gives of Saint-Olon's conduct at Genoa suggests that the envoy did not fail for want of unscrupulousness: *Il s'entoura de gens repris de justice, il accorda sa protection aux contrebandiers, il encouragea ses valets à prendre querelle dans les rues avec les habitans, et à les traiter avec insolence* (vol xxv, p 464)

None of the nations and few of the individuals who figure in these documents leave without a stain on their character. Though the corsairs were a scourge to the maritime nations of Europe, those nations supplied them with the means of carrying on their nefarious trade. The Sultan is represented as treacherous, cruel, and fanatical, among his officials the worthiest is clearly the Jew Maimoran. The treatment of the Christians captured by the corsairs and enslaved is described as barbarous in the extreme Possibly that of the Moors employed in European fleets as galley-slaves was little better

England figures only occasionally in these documents, the most interesting paper connected with this country is an Arabic letter from Moulay Isma'il to James II, then an exile at the French court, advising him to embrace Islam, or failing that to return to the religion of the English, and resume his throne; in any case, to quit France and take refuge in Spain He pleads his want of warships as his excuse for not restoring James II himself

The editors have taken pains to explain obscure allusions

and difficult phrases. The orthography of all the writers seems arbitrary, but is usually intelligible. *Quand* for *qu'en*, *cinfié* for *signifié*, *issi* for *ici*, and the like are not very puzzling.

*494* D. S. M

THE CALIPHS AND THEIR NON-MUSLIM SUBJECTS: A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE COVENANT OF 'UMAR By A S TRITTON, Muslim University, Aligarh 9 × 5½. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press 1930.

The subject of Mr Tritton's monograph is vast and difficult, because the treatment of the *dhimmīs* varied in the different states which constituted the Caliphate, and indeed with the caprice of individual rulers, and laws which dealt with the matter were frequently disregarded or evaded. Hence those who attempt to generalize often produce amazing propositions. Thus the well-informed M Augustin Bernard in his *Maroc* (seventh edition, p. 277) says: "Les Almohades semblent avoir été, de toutes les dynasties africaines, la plus tolérante et la mieux disposée pour les chrétiens." But Mr. Tritton records (p. 133) "'Abd ul Mumin, the Almohade sovereign, gave to his Jewish and Christian subjects the choice between Islam and exile." The other African dynasties cannot well have been worse disposed.

Mr. Tritton's method is similar to that of Mez in his *Renaissance des Islams*, and is doubtless the best available. He has divided his subject into a number of sections, which indeed occasionally overlap, and collected material bearing on them with conspicuous industry and erudition. The result indicated by his title, viz. that "the Covenant of 'Umar" bore little relation to anything ever enacted by the second Caliph, is likely to be generally accepted. He has further done good service in utilizing Christian sources of information, Arabic, Syriac, and Ethiopic, and some Jewish. Moreover, his statements are absolutely free from partisanship, such as colours those of several authors who have dealt with parts of this theme.

Mr. Tritton's narratives are not free from horrors, but it would seem clear that normally the rulers were in favour of giving protection to the *dhimmīs*, who supplied so many of them with secretaries and confidential advisers, trusty physicians, and bankers Outrages were generally the work of fanatical mobs, and restraint of these must have been difficult when in the fourth century A H the Byzantines were recovering lost territory in Asia, and when in the succeeding centuries the Crusades constituted a grave menace to Islam.

Those who have read the "best-selling" novel *Jud Suss* will find the situations frequently illustrated by Mr Tritton's anecdotes The position of a tolerated cult was much the same in Christian Europe as in Muslim Asia and Africa.

*P. 33* D S. M.

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MANUEL D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE By DR. G CONTENAU $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, Vol II, pp 547–1121, 382 illustrations; Vol III, pp 1122–1685, 233 illustrations, 4 maps. Paris. Auguste Picarde, 1931

The second volume of Dr. Contenau's history of ancient Oriental art is a princely book With the completion of the work in the third volume it will supersede all previous works on the subject and become the standard work upon it for many years to come. The multitude of photographs and other illustrations which enrich the pages would of themselves secure a long future for the book, they are all excellent, well-chosen, and at once illustrative themselves and well illustrated in the text Dr Contenau is not only a student of art, but also a sound Assyriological scholar and a good copyist of cuneiform inscriptions The book is brought thoroughly up to date, and in other matters besides art is distinguished by sobriety of judgment Perhaps, indeed, in some cases the author is even too cautious

The second volume comprises the history of art and all connected with it in western Asia during the third and second millennia before our era We begin with the archaic art of

Sumer and Elam and its relations with what we find in Syria, Palestine, and Assyria. The third chapter introduces us to the Semitic age of Sargon of Akkad with a new form of art and artistic development. The art and culture of Akkad, in fact, presuppose a long preceding period of development which personally I feel has yet to be discovered; it is only among the Sumerians of Tello, it seems to me, that we can find an unbroken tradition. Elsewhere it is the sudden appearance of an art which is highly developed and yet without a background

From the age of Akkad onwards we have a more or less continuous cultural history. In the time of the third dynasty of Ur Babylonian art and civilization reached a higher point than was the case for many centuries later. A head recently discovered by Mr. Woolley is almost modern in its character. Compare also the head in the Louvre, fig. 473 And this civilization was reflected in other directions, good roads connected the different parts of the Babylonian Empire with one another, and a Babylonian colony was established in Asia Minor where the mines of silver and copper were worked by Babylonian firms. For a time Babylonian culture was interrupted by the invasion of the semi-barbarous Gutians of Kurdistan, but it was again restored under the Kings of Isin and Larsa, followed by the dynasty of Khammurabi at Babylon. Phœnicia, which formed part of the Babylonian Empire and its commercial activities, shared its civilization, and the chapter devoted by Dr. Contenau to the discoveries at Byblos will be read with special interest

His fifth chapter deals with the period from the fall of the Khammurabi dynasty and the capture of Babylon by the Hittites to 1500 B.C. It was a period when the Hittites became the dominant power and leading figure in western Asia and the larger part of the chapter is accordingly devoted to them and their immediate neighbours. Nothing has been neglected by Dr. Contenau; Asia Minor and Elam, Syria and Mitanni, Assyria and Palestine are all alike laid under contribution

and the discoveries of excavation during the past few years are duly noted and appraised There are, in fact, no omissions, and the volume concludes with an account of the cuneiform alphabet which has been found at Ras Shamra on the Phœnician coast

It need not be said that throughout the volume especial attention has been paid to the designs on seals about which Dr Contenau is our chief authority. I may note that the curious rod with a ring attached to the upper part of it, which we see depicted on so many of them, sometimes standing alone, sometimes in the hand of a god or a hero like Gilgames, he is inclined to regard as representing a sort of curtain-rod which bound together the wooden posts of a primitive hut It was, at all events, a symbol of divinity, but whether we can get beyond this is a question The more we know about early art, the more problems there are for us to solve

Dr Contenau's wide scholarship and power of work are amazing He finds time not only for exploration and excavation in eastern lands, but also for the production of numerous volumes on the ancient oriental world, which are always brought up to date The year 1931 has seen the publication of the third and last volume of his *Manual of Oriental Archæology*, enriched as usual with abundant photographic illustrations, and replete with exact and systematically arranged facts Nothing necessary to a full knowledge of the subject has been omitted , the index is a model of what a scientific index ought to be, and the appendices followed by a copious bibliography contain the latest information relating to the prehistoric pottery of Elam and western Asia, the discoveries of Mr Woolley at Ur, and of M Watelin at Kish, the recent finds at Astrabad, Kuban, and elsewhere in the Caucasus and the neighbourhood of the Caspian, as well as an account of the bronzes and pottery of Luristan and Nihawand in Persia, which are now being revealed to us. The discoveries made last spring at Ras Shamra are not yet available, but a note at the end of the volume indicates that they

too will find a place in a later edition of the work. Some useful maps have been printed at the end of the book.

The third volume recounts the story of art and archæology in western Asia from the beginning of the first millennium B C. down to the age of Darius and his immediate successors. The opening chapter commences with a description of Moscho-Hittite art and passes on to a description of that of Babylonia and Assyria, more especially in the Sargonic age. The chapter concludes with a brief review of the art of Armenia during the same period, and a discussion of Egyptian and Ægean influence upon the ivories of Assyria, in which due note is made of the recently discovered ivory ornaments of the couch of Hazael, King of Damascus, lately exhibited in the Louvre

Chapter VII deals with the Neo-Babylonian period and discoveries at Neirab and Jerusalem Then follows an account of Persian and Phœnician art in the Persian epoch, and the story as brought down to the age of the Oxus Treasure, and the exquisitely beautiful Greek sculptures of the Sidonian sarcophagi The three volumes constitute a work of which the author may be justly proud.

*508* A. H SAYCE

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HETHITISCHE STAATSVERTRAGE Leipziger rechtswissenschaftliche Studien 60 By VIKTOR KOROŠEC pp. viii + 118 Leipzig Th. Weicher, 1931. Mks. 6.

This latest contribution to the new science of Hittitology is an important work. Professor Korošec is a high authority on the subject of comparative law, and his book shows that he also has a remarkable knowledge of the Hittite texts in so far as they bear upon his subject. The book is written with a clarity which not only bears witness to his own knowledge and intuition but also makes it intelligible and interesting to the layman. Neither the lawyer nor the historian can afford to neglect it.

The work is mainly devoted to determining the relation of the Hittite king to his subjects and vassals, as well as to foreign countries We now possess portions of both an earlier and a later Hittite legal code, as well as the historical texts and references to law in other documents including what we should call law reports. Decipherment has advanced sufficiently to make the translation of the larger part of these fairly complete and certain, in fact, most of the translator's difficulties now arise from the fragmentary condition of so many of the tablets

The first point which will strike the reader is the resemblance between the social and political constitution of the Hittite Empire and that of feudal Europe In each case we have the overlord with his barons and their retainers below him together with a body of "freemen", partly traders and professionals, partly agriculturists, holding their lands as it were from the King to whom they owe service, and together constituting a *pankus* or "parliament" In certain matters the King was supreme, as, for example, in his relations with foreign powers, but there were other matters upon which the advice of the parliament had to be taken. All this implied the same interaction of individualism and collectivism that we find in mediæval Europe, on the one hand the individual alone was made responsible for his actions, while on the other hand in certain cases the whole family was held responsible for his misdeeds. Professor Korošec inclines to the belief that these two conceptions of society were respectively "sacral" and "civil", my own view is that their origin was racial, the "collective" conception being that of the primitive inhabitants of the country while the individualistic conception had been introduced, like the military caste, by foreign conquerors The constitution of the Hittite state was essentially of what we should call the Nordic type

The larger part of the volume is occupied with a discussion of the foreign relations of the Hittite king and more especially

of his relations to the vassal princes. But from time to time we find remarks which might provide matter for fresh studies. Let us hope that the Professor will follow some of them up. Thus (on p. 42) he notices the "practical mildness and humanity" of Hittite law in which the death-penalty was strikingly rare, and (on p. 45) points to the fact that "in the Hittite monarchy we have a feudal state and not a bureaucracy". So again he remarks (p. 56) upon the anxiety of the Hittite government to recover Hittite subjects, whether captives or refugees, from foreign countries, and at the same time to retain foreigners who had settled in the Hittite territory, where they would be useful as soldiers. He further notes that the land of Khayasa is stigmatized as a "barbarous" (*dambubi*) country". The volume is provided with an excellent index.

*N R 8* A H. SAYCE.

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A STUDY OF ANCIENT INDIAN NUMISMATICS (INDIGENOUS SYSTEM) FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE RISE OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS (THIRD CENTURY A D), WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO NORTHERN INDIA By S. K CHAKRABORTTY, M A $7 \times 5$, pp ix + 243. Mymensingh, Bengal · Author, 1931. 8*s*.

Professor Chakrabortty has produced a very useful and readable resumé of our present knowledge of the evolution and nature of the coinage system of Ancient India. For anyone seeking information on that particular period of Indian numismatics this little book supplies a serviceable introduction. After a general account of the origins of coinage in antiquity (Chapter I) and its particular characteristics in ancient times in India (Chapter II) the author proceeds to discuss in turn such matters as weights and coin denominations; metrology, mode of fabrication; the State in relation to coinage; the coins with symbols; provenance and coin-types. The arrangement is both systematic and critical, and shows an adequate knowledge

of the literature on the subject, and the theories of Cunningham, Vincent Smith, Rapson, and Bhandarkar (the Carmichael Lectures). Although the author's treatment is in the nature of a general survey of the evidence, he also records certain results of personal research, e g. the determination of the *Śatamāna* unit (in opposition to the views of Professor Keith and others), the indebtedness of the Indian coinage to the Greek, the consequent difficulty of the adoption of a bimetallic system in antiquity, and the elucidation of certain obscurities in the names of Indian princes and principalities and their historical perspective Although this work was published before Sir John Marshall's *Mohenjo-daro* appeared, it takes into account certain of the latter's statements to the Press on the recent archæological discoveries in India The last word has not been said on the subject, however, and we can anticipate in the near future a considerable alteration in our outlook on the origins and development of coinage in Northern India The elucidation of the symbols on the " Punch-marked coins ", for instance, is likely to yield intriguing evidence, but the decipherer has not yet arisen to furnish us with that aid

The value of the present work would, we feel, have been considerably enhanced by the addition of illustrations of the various coin-types mentioned in the text It is nevertheless well constructed and documented, with a serviceable index and a general bibliography We observed very few slips, e g *delichocephalic* (p 17), Macdonald (p 230) for Macdonell, *Nummorum* (p 14) and *Numorum* (p 229) impartially in the title of Barclay Head's *Historia*, while the index reference under *Śatamāna* (166) is wrong Such minute inaccuracies do not detract from the general interest and reliability of the present work as an introduction to a very fascinating section of the vast field of Indian numismatics

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J. WALKER.

AL ḤASAN B. AḤMAD B. YA'QŪB IBN AL-ḤĀ'IK AL-HAMDĀNĪ; KITĀB AL-IKLĪL. Vol. VIII, edited by PÈRE ANASTASE MARIE DE ST. ELIE 8vo, pp 488. Baghdād, 1931.

The author has long been known as the chief authority on Southern Arabia, and the late Professor D. H. Muller published, in addition to his *Geography of the Arabian Peninsula*, some extracts of the present work (with German translation and notes) under the title of *Burgen und Schlosser Süd-Arabiens* The whole work, or rather the eighth volume of the ten of which the original work consisted, remained long unedited, though several copies of this volume had been brought to Europe. The chief reason was the terribly bad state in which the text has come down to us, owing to the ignorance of Yamanite scribes I had commenced a copy of the manuscript preserved in the British Museum, which I sent to Père Anastase as soon as I knew his intention of preparing an edition. He had been fortunate in acquiring a copy, some years ago, which, though faulty, surpassed all others in being comparatively good. Even the best copies make the work of an editor hazardous, on account of the style of the author and the number of words which have not found their way into the dictionaries, and which were no doubt peculiar to the language of South Arabia in his time With endless trouble the editor has been able to construct a readable text, and has furnished it with a running commentary, elucidating as far as possible, all difficulties. In addition he has added fourteen indices to assist quick reference.

Like many other Yamanites, Hamdānī was filled with pride in his native country, the existing ruins and monuments of which spoke plainly of a glorious past, the truth of which had long been forgotten and which he hoped once more to reveal. This volume above all was to reconstruct it, and hence we find descriptions of castles in the various parts of the Yaman, the remains of which he himself had seen, or, in some cases, about which he had received information from

others. This is also the most valuable portion of the volume.

There were rumours of treasures found in the graves of the ancient kings who were buried, so it is stated, with all pomp, sitting on thrones and surrounded by their armour and weapons This legend is dependent upon an older work, the *Kitāb at-Tījān*, written originally by Wahb ibn Munabbih and re-edited with additional matter from Muhammad ibn Isḥāq, by 'Abd al-Malik ibn Hishām Lack of critical knowledge prevented Hamdānī from recognizing that most of these accounts are only poor forgeries which have no foundation in truth Perhaps the graves were found, but the men who pretended to read the Minæan or Sabæan inscriptions did but deceive themselves and their followers. There is no doubt that Hamdānī could read the South Arabian alphabet, but I seriously doubt his ability to understand the language. The editor has given on p 142 a facsimile of a table of the so-called Himyaritic letters This table varies in the manuscripts in proportion to the copyists' opportunities of changing the text before them. Some letters are still recognizable like the Alif in the beginning, but most of them are entirely wrong, and we do not know what Hamdānī really did write.

As the author sometimes refers to contemporary historical events or to those occurring shortly before his own time, we must express deep regret that he did not relate for our edification more of these, instead of describing the utterances of kings upon their death-beds, when history knows nothing of such fabulous heroes of the past

While the work was in the Press, I was able to collate the sheets, *after* they were printed, with the Berlin MS, which belongs to the worst class of those used by the editor. The scribe, who may have written from dictation, persistently writes such simple words like هدا as pronounced in South Arabia, هَدّٰة

I mention this only to demonstrate with what difficulties

the editor had to contend to obtain a readable text, at times even to get any sense at all into prose or verse. A peep into the readings of the poem rhyming in Ṭā', on pages 43–6, as found in the manuscripts will give some idea of the editor's trials.

As Père Anastase intends to publish a supplement containing the variants and corrections communicated to him by Professor Levi della Vida, who has compared the Vatican MS of the work, and by myself, I need not here enumerate such emendations as I have supplied to the editor, since they probably will be in print before this article appears.

We must be grateful to Père Anastase for all the trouble he has taken in making this important volume accessible, as there are few scholars equally competent to undertake such an exacting task.

In Oriental Journals, especially, there have appeared notices stating that other volumes of the work exist, but as far as my knowledge goes, we possess copies of only the tenth volume, containing the genealogies of the tribes of Hamdān and Bakīl, and of the two copies I have inspected, the one in the Berlin Library is much better and older than the one in the British Museum. F. KRENKOW.

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1 DIE AWESTISCHEN HERRSCHAFTS- UND SIEGESFEUER. Von JOHANNES HERTEL. Des XLI Bandes der Abhandl. der philologisch-historischen Klasse der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Nr. VI. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$. pp. xvi + 206 Leipzig, 1931.

2 YAŠT 14, 16, 17. Text, Übersetzung und Erlauterung. MITHRA UND ƎRƎXŠA. Von JOHANNES HERTEL. (Sächsische Forschungsinstitute in Leipzig. Indo-iranische Quellen und Forschungen, Heft VII.) $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$. pp. xxvi + 258. Leipzig, 1931.

These two volumes properly form one whole, as the cost of printing prevented the materials in the second from being

included in the first, and their common theme is the "fire of lordship and victory", the *xᵛarənah-*, "that part of the all-embracing celestial fire (*aṣ̌a-*) which bestows victory over both the immortal and the mortal powers of darkness." This conception of *xᵛarənah-* (in Dr Hertel's reformed spelling *hvarənah-*) played a most important part in the ancient Indo-Iranian cult of Light and Fire, which the studies of Dr Hertel in recent years have enabled us to view from a new and juster standpoint.[1] The fundamental truth of his theory is gradually winning recognition among scholars, and the present works contain much valuable material in further exposition and confirmation of it.

The first work (*AHSF*) opens with an introduction briefly setting forth Dr Hertel's views (very probable in the main) on the history of early Iranian religion and its hymns, now partly preserved in the Avesta, and discussing the conception of *xᵛarənah-* as it appears in other literatures, viz. in the story of Xenophon's *Cyropædia* iv, ii, 15 (with which he compares Livy I, xxxiv, 1 ff) and in the Vedic religion, a fire-cult almost exactly analogous to that of the older Avesta.[2] After this we come to the backbone of the book, Yašts XIX and XVIII, critically edited in transliteration so as to show their metrical form and divisions, and translated with notes and prefaces. Y XIX (Zamyād Y, so-called because it is a text for the sacrifice designed to win empire over the whole earth) is shown by Dr Hertel to be a patchwork made up of three pieces, *A* (§§ 9–44, 70–96), *B* (§§ 45–69), and *C* (§§ 0, 1–8). *A* narrates the exploits of the possessors of *xᵛarənah-*, which

[1] I may call attention to my reviews of previous works by him in *JRAS*, 1928, p 180 ff, and 1930, p 440 ff

[2] Dr Hertel points out that in the older RV *xᵛarənah-* is termed *bráhma* (*φλέγμα*) and *śávas*, later also *téjas*; in RV this *bráhma* is claimed not only for poet-priests but also for warriors, and later, in the period of the older Upanisads, when the struggle for pre-eminence between these two classes was settled, the former claimed *bráhma* for themselves, styling themselves *brāhmanas*, possessors of the heavenly fire, while the warriors termed the *xᵛarənah-* characteristic of their class *téjas*.

was at first *visible*, until Yima by his sin lost it, and it thereupon became *invisible* (*axᵛarəta-*, in Dr. Hertel's reformed spelling *ahūrəta-*) and less potent. *B* treats of the invisible *xᵛarənah-*, relating that when Spənta-Mainyu- and Aŋra-Mainyu- struggled for its possession it escaped to the *zrayō vourukašəm* (the Heavenly Ocean, according to Dr. Hertel) and was there appropriated by Apąm Napå—identified with the lightning—who dwells in its depths. Apąm Napå in this text *B* is the deity who has created mankind, bestows dominion and, as resident in the depths of the Heavenly Ocean, is nearest to man and so most accessible to his prayers , the invisible *xᵛarənah-* is represented as not created by *Mazdāh* and not obtained by him, but as having come into the possession of Apąm Napå, who alone dispenses it. The matter of *B* is thus derived from a daevic, i e Vedic cult on the borders of Eastern Iran Finally *C*, by its mention of many mountains, shows that, unlike *A* and *B*, it was composed outside Eastern Iran and that its author's purview embraced the whole Persian Empire. Yašt XVIII, the Åštād Y or Yašt of Arštāt, is a text (very incorrect in language, and probably composed in the Middle Persian period) for the sacrifice to the *xᵛarənah-* of the Aryans in order to ensure the *arštāt* or permanent state in which the Celestial Light shall prevail among the Aryans by overcoming hostile influences of all sorts. These Yašts are followed by illuminating studies on the term *xᵛarənah-* and its congeners in Avesta (chap. III) and on *Apā́m Nápāt* in RV. and Avesta, together with *narā́m śáṃsa-*, *nárāśáṃsa-*, *nairya-o saŋha-*, *xšaθra-naptar-*, *tánū-nápāt*, etc (chap. IV).

The second book forms a continuation of Heft vi of the IIQF., "Die Arische Feuerlehre." In the introduction Dr Hertel summarises the results won by the researches made by Professor H. Junker and himself into the history of the Avestan alphabet. Among his own contributions to this is a fruitful theory of *Buchstabenglossen*, glosses by ancient scribes giving in *scriptura plena* the supposed values of ligatures

and antiquated characters, which apparently have often been ignorantly incorporated into the text. Skilful use of these data, together with other criteria, has enabled him to cleanse the texts of a rank swarm of corruptions. In the following pages are given three Yašts, XVII (Ard Y.), XVI (Dēn Y.), and XIV (Bahirām Y), duly emended and printed in roman script with annotated translations To these are prefixed full introductions XVII is the text for sacrifice to the goddess Aši-, and the introduction discusses her character as embodying the emanation of light from the upper Heaven into the world Apparently XVII was redacted in more or less its present form in Achæmenid times, not very long after Vištāspa, whose character and sacrifices are represented in it as exemplary, because he, guided by Zaraθuštra, put an end to the raids begun by his predecessors and took no part in the slaughter of the Magians by his son Darius XVI is the text for sacrifice to Cistā, and the introduction shows that *cistā* (from $\sqrt{cit}$. "shine") practically = *daēnā māzdayasniš* *cistā* seems to be abbreviated from *cistiš cistā* "the illumination that has shone forth", hence "light of understanding" (obtained through the eyes) in mortals possessed of *aša-*, the Celestial Light, while *daēnā* = "light of understanding" in general which becomes *cistā* when it reaches the world. The introduction to XIV (the text for the sacrifice still surviving in the Bahrām-fire of the Parsis) treats of the character of Vərəθrayna-, to whom it is addressed Vərəθrayna- (properly neut, but sometimes masc), whence *Bahirām* is derived, means "foe-slaughter", and was one of the names of the sacred fires maintained by Aryan chieftains as incarnations of their power Chapters III, V, and VI deal with the meanings of *citti-*, *cisti-*, $\sqrt{r\bar{a}}$, $\sqrt{sap}$-$\sqrt{hap}$ (properly "kindle, inflame", and in a sexual sense "impregnate"), with their derivatives, and *rtá-ašā*, and in chapter VII we have a fascinating study of the myth underlying Yt VIII, 6 f (expanded by a later author in 37 ff), showing that the Aryan tribes originally represented the winning of rain in time of drought variously

as the work of the mortal Aryan archer Ǝrəxša, who shot an arrow through the vault of the sky, or of Índra, who burst it open with his club, or of Mitrá, the spirit of the starry sky (the stars being to the early Aryans holes in the vault of the sky over-arching the earth), and in course of time Ǝrəxša and Mitrá were connected in legend The iconography of the later Mithras-cult, as demonstrated by Dr Hertel, shows curious traces of this association and of the primitive Aryan conception of Mitrá

The cumulative effect of these studies in confirming generally Dr. Hertel's view of the primitive Aryan *Weltanschauung* is, I think, very great On some details there is still room for differences of opinion,[1] but the general foundations of his scheme seem to me to be well laid and to stand firm. He has liberated Avestan studies from the fetters of a singularly stupid tradition, and led us forth into the spacious champaign of free scholarship *gātúm prathamó vivēda, nâíšā gávyūtir ápabhartavâ u.*

*N R 6 9* L D BARNETT.

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MEGASTHENES EN DE INDISCHE MAATSCHAPPIJ Door BARBARA CATHARINA JACOBA TIMMER. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp ii + 323, 1 folding table Amsterdam H. J. Paris, 1930

Written as a Ph.D. thesis in the University of Amsterdam, this book embodies a careful and critical consideration of the

[1] Among such are perhaps some features in his restoration of the Avestan texts, in which we could wish to see definitely formulated a general standard for transliteration and correction of later spellings while he restores some early spellings, e g the ending *-ām*, he leaves untouched many forms of vocalism which, as he seems to suggest (IIQF. VII, p. xxv), may perhaps be late. Sometimes, too, the adjustment of words to the metrical scheme may provoke some doubt : possibly there may have been *pluta* vowels in early Avestan poetry, which would resolve some difficulties in scansion. The word *daēnā*, I think, ought to be written when trisyllabic, *dayanā* (cf. *srayušta-* from *sraēšta-*), and not *dayanā*. The etymological connection of "Harrūt" (*AHSF*., p 16) may be doubted ; so perhaps may be the force of the argument ibid., p. 82, line 1

reports of Megasthenes on the structure of Indian society. As the original work of Megasthenes is no longer available, the secondary sources are discussed in some detail, the most important being Diodorus, Arrian, and Strabo. The relevant passages are then set out, with translations and commentaries, and a comparison is made with Indian authorities, especially Kautilya's Arthaśāstra, the dharmaśāstras, the epics, and certain Buddhist works, viz the Jātakas and portions of the Vinaya and Sutta collections.

From this comparative treatment it appears that Megasthenes got his information partly from his own observations, but also to a great extent from Indian reports and theories, which did not always correspond with the facts and which he sometimes misunderstood When founded on his own observations, the author concludes that his statements are trustworthy

The work is well arranged ; a summary in German will be of help to scholars who find a difficulty in reading Dutch ; there is a table of contents, a bibliography of works cited, a list of the passages discussed, an index of persons and subjects, and a table giving a synopsis of the relevant passages in Diodorus, Arrian, and Strabo The book should prove very useful to students of the subject.

207 C O BLAGDEN.

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THE LIFE AND WORKS OF MOSES HAYYIM LUZZATTO, FOUNDER OF MODERN HEBREW LITERATURE. By SIMON GINZBURG, Ph D 9 × 6, pp viii + 189 Philadelphia. The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, 1931. $2 50

Much has been written on that baffling genius Moses Hayyim Luzzatto, but the recent discovery of many of his letters in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of New York which shed new light on his life and on the controversies in which he was engaged has necessitated a re-examination of the material gathered hitherto from various

sources. This Dr. Ginzburg has essayed to do in the present volume which is to be considered as a prelude to the edition of Luzzatto's works on which he is now engaged. After a brief introduction (pp. 1–10) on the Pre-Luzzatto Period, designed to show that its characteristics are reflected in the dual nature of Luzzatto in whom the medieval and the modern spirit met, our author deals in the first part of his thesis with the life of his subject and particularly with the controversy over his cabbalistic leanings and his aspirations to Messiahship in which he was engaged with the Venetian Rabbis. The newly-discovered correspondence between him and his religious teacher, Rabbi Isaiah Bassan, is analysed and shown to solve some problems which previous writers had been at a loss to explain from lack of the data herein contained. We gather that unfortunately the discoveries throw no further light on Luzzatto's last days in Palestine, where he succumbed to the plague in 1746. The second part of the thesis gives an account of Luzzatto's cabbalistic system, his philosophical works and his poems This is followed by a critical estimate of his place in Hebrew literature, destined to show that he is the real founder of modern Hebrew literature —" his mission was to create an exact, concise, and simple style as the medium of expression of the modern Jew. Luzzatto never was conscious of it himself; he did it unwillingly, as if ' by the way ', and thus prepared the ground for the revival of Hebrew as a spoken language by Ben-Yehudah at the end of the nineteenth century." A bibliography of Luzzatto's published and unpublished works is given by Dr. Ginzburg by way of appendix to his essay; and its value is enhanced to the student by his having had access to Almanzi's annotated edition of the biography in חרם חמד (iii, 112–69), of which full use has been made. The selection of illustrative documents appertaining to Luzzatto's life and cabbalistic activities is of special interest to the historical reader; some of the letters establish beyond a doubt that the *herem* against him was a grim reality and not, as alleged by one of his biographers,

a mere legend. We congratulate Dr. Ginzburg on this careful piece of work, and look forward to the early publication of the new material which promises to reveal Luzzatto and his period in fuller light

234 A. W. GREENUP.

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SANTAL FOLK TALES Edited by P O. BODDING. Vol. III. Instituttet for Sammenligende Kulturforskning Santal Text with English Translation $4\frac{1}{4} \times 7$, pp ii + 411. Oslo H Aschehoug & Co (W Nygaard), London Williams & Norgate, Ltd, 1929 £1 3s

This third volume of Santal Folk Tales is further evidence, if such were needed, of the untiring zeal of Mr Bodding in seeking to give to the world everything that can be known of his beloved Santals Already in two volumes he had given us the main body of Santal Folk Tales, but this volume is even bigger than the previous ones, and the author shows the same thoroughness in tracking down each story to its source

This latest volume has four sections The first deals with stories concerning Jugis, those ascetics and religious mendicants supposed to be possessed of supernatural powers; stories concerning the souls in human bodies follow; then two stories about animals borne by women; finally a number of miscellaneous stories

Even more interesting than the folk tales, which have a way of repeating the same features, are the footnotes, in which Mr Bodding explains the origin of the innumerable interesting and quaint customs of the Santals. This book is a mine of information in this respect One such custom mentioned is that of the Santal women carrying their children invariably on the left hip But it seems a fairly general custom that the left arm is used to tend, so that the right arm may be left free to fight or to protect We came across these words recently in England, "There is nothing so beautiful as a mother's left arm"

Another custom mentioned is that of the way in which the sexes are distinguished. When a Santal child is born, inquirers do not ask as we do in English ungrammatically, "Is *it* a boy or a girl?" The Santals use the picturesque expression invariably, "Does the new relative who has arrived carry on the head or on the shoulder?" If on the head, the child is known to be female, if on the shoulder a male. Women carry waterpots on the head, while men sling a bamboo pole across their shoulder, and carry two equal weights, one suspended from each end of the pole

The Santal loves a riddle, and favours the indirect approach on any subject Kings and poverty, animals and agriculture, marriage and evil spirits, hunting and herding, these are some of the stock themes The late Dr Andrew Campbell, of Pokhuria, once collected a series of folk tales of the Santals and forwarded a copy of his book to Andrew Lang In acknowledging the book, Lang said that after reading some of the Santal tales, he seriously doubted if there was such a thing as a new story in the world

This volume is beautifully printed, and the book is a pleasure to handle The stories are given in Santali on the left hand page, the English translation on the right We have not come across a mistake in the Santali, but in the English translation the mistakes in spelling and in idiom are frequent "People say," as the translation throughout of "kathæ", gets painfully monotonous, while the use of "awful", e.g "an awful noise", "an awful amount of money" is unfortunate. The stories as told in Santali are written down with the utmost simplicity and ease and are a pleasure to read We suspect that Mr. Bodding finds it easier to think and speak in Santali than in English. But the mention of these flaws does not blind us to the fresh stores of wealth Mr. Bodding has unearthed for us in these tales, and his researches and erudition put all who have to do with the Santals more deeply in his debt than ever.

*15* WILLIAM HAMILTON.

**British Artists in India, 1760–1820.** By Sir William Foster, C I E (pp 88 pls 12) The Nineteenth Volume of the Walpole Society, 1930–1. $12\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$, pp viii + 164, pls. 24. Oxford John Johnson, University Press, 1931

Sir William Foster has once more found a good subject, worthy of so accomplished a researcher. About sixty professional British artists—he is not concerned with foreigners—visited India between 1760 and 1820, and the list includes some distinguished names, especially of the miniaturists, Ozias Humphry, John Smart, Chinnery, and others being among the number A few made fortunes, many returned disappointed, but in any case their adventures make attractive reading, comparable to *Echoes of Old Calcutta* Besides telling us about the artists' Indian careers, the author has been at pains to trace the pictures which they painted and to locate them wherever possible The study has special value, too, from Sir William Foster's utilization of sources hitherto hardly drawn upon, such as the records of the East India Company and the files of contemporary Indian newspapers

The artistic results of the contact of so much talent with India were curiously disappointing on the whole, though there were some notable exceptions The case of Zoffany, little of whose Indian work is worthy to be included among his best, is typical of many others Probably one of the explanations of this phenomenon may lie in the difficulty of procuring materials, while their patrons were fewer and money went less far than they had been led to expect Even more surprising is the fact that the Indian artists seem to have learnt nothing from the visitors, though 200 years earlier the Mughal painters had taken intense interest in European work, and allowed it to influence their technique very considerably

Sir William Foster does not mention whether he has inquired into the truth of the well-known story of Zoffany

having painted the Begam Somru. It may, however, not be well authenticated, and, as he says, he has found it impossible in the case of this prolific artist to discuss all the pictures which have been ascribed to him.

The twelve plates of reproductions are admirable.

*609* J. V. S. W.

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THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY IN BRITISH INDIA, 1774–84. By A. P. DASGUPTA, M A, Ph D $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. x + 368, map 1. Calcutta University Press, 1931

The Regulating Act of 1773 was an honest but unfortunate attempt to improve the existing system of administration in the Company's Indian possessions. One of its chief defects was the loophole provided by the ninth clause which, although definitely declaring the supremacy of Bengal over the other presidencies, made two disastrous exceptions In cases of imminent necessity, or where the subordinate council had received special orders from the Company itself, it was not considered necessary for the Bombay and Madras authorities to obtain the consent of the Governor-General and Council for the commencement of hostilities or for the concluding of treaties

The principal object of Mr. Dasgupta is to illustrate from the relations of the Supreme Council with the Madras Government under Rumbold, Whitehill, and Macartney the difficulties with which Warren Hastings had to contend until the Act of 1784 enlarged the control of the Governor-General over the other presidencies

It would, however, be unfair to lay all the blame upon the framers of the Regulating Act As one reads the pages of Mr. Dasgupta's well-documented book one becomes convinced that the system proved unworkable because the supreme authority was not really supreme Nevertheless he is careful to point out that this was not the only factor militating against success. The chief actors on the stage were men

who did not agree, men who were brooding in a sultry climate; and if friction was possible and actually did take place under honest governors like Macartney, it was inevitable under corrupt governors like Rumbold and Whitehill.

542 C COLLIN DAVIES.

THE LAKHERS By N E PARRY, I C S, with introduction by Dr J H Hutton, C I E, I C S $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp xx + 640, 30 ills, 29 pls, 1 map London Macmillan & Co., 1932 36s

This book is a very full account of a hill tribe living in a corner of Assam on the border of Burma The people's own name for themselves is Mără, and in Burma they are called Shendu, but Lakher is the name by which they are best known in Assam There are several references, in quotations from books, to a neighbouring people in Burma called the Khyengs. This name is merely an attempt by former writers to transliterate the spelling in Burmese characters of Chin, the term applied by the Burmese to all the hill-tribes on the border of Assam and Bengal south of the Hukawng valley Burmese spelling generally has little relation to the present sounds

From Dr Hutton's learned introduction it appears that the people are Nagas, who have not long ago adopted Kuki customs without altogether losing their own. This makes them, perhaps, less worthy than some of their neighbours of choice for such an exhaustive study On the other hand they have but recently come under a civilized administration, though by no means free from missionary influence

Much of the book is too detailed for the ordinary reader His appetite for information might fail before he discovered such titbits as the cure for consumption which consists in eating a part of one's enemy's ear, or the presentation of an egg by a woman who has borne children easily to one who is having a difficult delivery As a guide to administrators, however, and a mine for anthropologists, the work is of great

value, especially the chapters on laws and customs and religion.

The Lakhers explain the custom of serving women first at a feast by saying that they are inferior beings and must therefore be treated kindly. One is inclined to suspect missionary prompting But doubtless Mr. Parry has good reasons for not suggesting (as one is naturally tempted to do) that the custom is more likely to be a survival of matriarchy, like that mentioned on p 411.

The chapter on the language, though (as judged by one ignorant of Lakher) at least up to the standard of most treatises on these languages, is less satisfactory Lakher cannot be forced into an Aryan mould, with cases and moods and tenses, without misleading the learner and adding to his troubles. It appears from a remark on p. 504 that it is a tone-language, but the tones are not marked Indian civilians now receive a training in phonetics, and will not have Mr. Parry's difficulty in recording an unwritten language. Whether the younger generation will have the energy, ability, and industry to produce such a book as this is another matter. But the reproach once made against British officials in tropical dependencies, that they left to others the labour of collecting information about the peoples in their charge, is now no longer justified

The book includes a glossary and bibliography, a map, numerous photographs, and some coloured plates showing costumes.

*550* R. G. B.

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GRAMMAIRE DU VIEUX-PERSE. Deuxième édition entièrement corrigée et augmentée par E BENVENISTE. Paris : Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion.

This valuable work, published by La Société de Linguistique de Paris, is an enlarged and improved edition of M. Meillet's *Old Persian Grammar*, which was published in 1915. It is

impossible to overestimate its value to all students of Old Persian, and the Persian Cuneiform Inscriptions, which are all that remains of that language This literature is so small that it is surprising that it should yield such a mass of information as Mess Meillet and Benveniste have worked out. The useful part of it is, indeed, even smaller than appears at first sight, for some of the later inscriptions are so corrupt, or incorrect, that they must be used with great caution, and in the rest formulæ and repetitions constantly recur.

The first two chapters deal with the script and its peculiarities and the phonetic system How, when, or by whom cuneiform was adapted to Persian is unknown Nor has it yet been explained why certain consonants have only one form whatever vowel follows, and why some have two, and some three It has been long realized that *n* followed by a consonant is generally omitted, but Meillet has pointed out that *hu* and *xu* (*khu*) are represented only by *u*. Thus we should read "Hufrasta", "Ahura", and "Xuvārazmiya" (Chorasmia, Khwārazm) 𐏂 has usually been represented by *θr*, Meillet transliterates *ç*, and Benveniste now prefers *s̮s̮*—"une sifflante forte, distincte de *θ* et de *s*" Thus we get the curious forms *xšas̮s̮am* instead of *xšathram* or *khshathram* and *pus̮s̮a* instead of *puθra* or *puthra* The discussion of the value of this sign and the variation in its pronunciation in Persian dialects is interesting

The rest of the book is not a grammar in the form adopted by the usual books of instruction, but rather a discussion of all that can be gathered from the sources available, set forth in a manner suitable for scholars who understand the principles of Sanskrit and Avestan grammar A slight suspicion occasionally arises that the examples cited are pressed a little too far This may be noticed in the paragraphs dealing with the position of the adjective as regards the substantive it qualifies (p 218), and the order of words in the phrase (pp 238–42) The author seems to feel this himself, for on p 241, he confesses "Toutefois il ne faut pas chercher

des raisons d'expression partout . . . on ne voit rien, sinon l'équilibre de la phrase, pour avoir entraîné l'ordre dans B. iv, 31."

We naturally turn to see what M Benveniste has to say regarding some of the words in the Darius inscriptions which have been the subject of controversy We may briefly consider three such words

(1) What is the word for "tongue" in B, ii, 74 ? King and Thompson read *harbānam*, and state that *harbāna* is "from a root *srbh*, cf. sorbeo . . . Of the signs 𐎼 𐎲 and 𐎴 traces are preserved upon the rock; the remaining signs are clear". M. Benveniste considers that instead of 𐎼 (*r*) we should read 𐎯 ($d^u$), and that the word should thus be transliterated *hidubānam*, corresponding to Av. *hizva*, Sk. *jihva* It would appear that the point can hardly be cleared up without a further inspection of the rock, or of some reproduction of the inscription, to see whether before the sign 𐎼 there is, or is not, room for the mark <.

(2) Darius says · "We have been kings *duvitāparanam*" (B, i, 10) K T translate "in two lines". Meillet in the first edition of this work doubtfully preferred this interpretation—"en deux branches" Tolman gives "long aforetime"—*duvitā* "long" and *paranam* "before". Benveniste now translates "à la suite, successivement"—*duvitā* "deuxième" and *paranam* "en avant". It appears therefore that the balance of opinion is against the old translation "in two lines"

(3) Where a date is given as such and such a day of the month we have the phrase .. *māhyā* . . *raučabiš θakatā āha*, with a number greater than one before *raučabiš*, if it is the first day of the month we read *I rauča θakatam*, or *I raučā θakatā*. The old idea was that *raučabiš* (an instrumental) was used as a general plural form, as sometimes in Avestan. Benveniste considers that the construction is something like the Latin ablative absolute, but that *θakatā* has incorrectly remained in the instrumental singular. The suggestion is

ingenious and interesting, but it does not quite carry conviction

The work has a good index of words and a table of contents. It is well and clearly printed, and there are practically no misprints—on p 19 we find a reference to § 447 which is a mistake for § 417 ; the same slip occurred in M Meillet's first edition.

*518* C. N S.

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A MIDDLE PERSIAN GRAMMAR, by C. SALEMANN. Translated from the German by Mr L BOGDANOV $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xii + vii + 133 Bombay Published by the Parsee Punchayet, and printed by the British India Press, 1930.

Salemann's Grammar was written in German in 1900, and published in the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie* in 1901. Since then it has been recognized as the best philological grammar of the language yet produced That, if it was to be translated into English, it should have taken thirty years to do it is surprising Indeed, the Parsee Punchayet has rendered English speaking students a service, but why its performance of this service has been so dilatory is not clear. Mr Bogdanov's introduction is dated 1922 ; if the translation took so long to do, the further serious delay before it was made available might perhaps have been avoided That no English scholar has been found to forestall the Punchayet by bringing out an up-to-date English grammar is not very creditable to English scholarship

In one respect Mr Bogdanov's English version is an improvement on the German original, which was printed by a press possessing no Pahlavī type, Pahlavī words were therefore printed in Hebrew Mr Bogdanov has turned this Hebrew into the original Pahlavī script ; this he did first for the Russian version which he made under Salemann's own instructions In the present volume there is a long list of corrigenda, and a few misprints which have not been noticed ;

occasionally the English is not as clear as a native English writer would have made it. But these are minor faults which detract but little from the value of the book.

"Middle Persian" means the language, or group of languages, used in Īrān during the Sassanian period, and generally known as Pahlavī, mainly represented, apart from certain inscriptions, by such works as the *Ardā Vīrāf Nāmak*, and written in the confusing Pahlavī script. In this script many Persian words are represented by characters which spell Semitic words. The written signs are ideograms; they are all to be read as Persian words It is in the realization of this fact that Salemann differs from the earlier authorities, such as West and Harlez These earlier authorities, of course, understood the truth, but they do not seem to have pushed it to its logical conclusion For example, we may compare West's transliteration of the *Ardā Vīrāf Nāmak* with that of Salemann. Transliterating chapter ii, verses 1 and 2, West writes. "Va valman Vīrāf rāī VII akhtman yehevūnḍ va valmanshān kolā VII akhtmanān Vīrāf chīgūn nēshman yehevūnḍ ḥōmand." Salemann's version is "U ōy Vīrāf rāy VII xvah būδ u ōšān har VII xvahān Vīrāf cegōn zan būδ hand" Or, again, West, writing of verbs, says· "Compound tenses are formed by the addition of the auxiliary Huz. verbs [Pahlavi] *hōman* [Pahlavi] *yehevūntanō* 'to be'." Salemann writes "$\sqrt{}$*ah*. . always expressed in script by means of the ideogram [Pahlavi] or [Pahlavi]." "$\sqrt{}$*bū* . . . for which there is written preferably [Pahlavi]."

These examples are sufficient to show the development of understanding between 1872 when West wrote and 1900 when Salemann produced his grammar. This "Middle Persian"—how very like it is, to be sure, to modern Persian, when it has its proper clothes on.

444 C. N. S.

L'ESCLAVAGE PRIVÉ DANS LE VIEUX DROIT SIAMOIS (Avec une traduction des anciennes lois siamoises sur l'esclavage) Par R LINGAT, Conseiller près les Tribunaux Siamois, Docteur en Droit 10 × 6½, pp xi + 395. Paris · Les Éditions Domat-Montchrestien ; F. Loviton et Cie, 1931 Prix 60 fr

Despite the fact that an edition of the main corpus of Siamese law texts was first printed as long ago as 1849, little progress has until recently been made with the systematic study of ancient Siamese jurisprudence Now, however, a most satisfactory beginning has been made by the publication of Monsieur J Burnay's excellent bibliography of legal MSS in the *Journal of the Siam Society* (1930–1), and the present scholarly monograph by Dr Lingat

The Siamese have never shown much inventive genius, but have from early times evinced a marked power of assimilating the culture of their neighbours It is to this characteristic that Siamese slavery owes its chief interest, for it throws much light on the institution as formerly established among other peoples of the Far East, but of which little is known from other sources In this connection one of the most important of Dr Lingat's generalizations is to the effect that while Siamese law is ultimately derived from the codes of the ancient Indian law-givers, little reached Siam directly from that source, it came rather through the medium of the Môn-Burmese systems There seems to have been less Khmer influence than might have been expected, although it must be admitted that we know little of ancient Khmer law and the later Cambodians have sought to imitate the Siamese in this as in other branches of culture Nothing is known as to the period when slavery originated in Siam, but the author effectively disposes of the common Siamese belief that slavery was unknown to the early Thai peoples and the first independent Siamese kingdom of Sukhodaya (thirteenth–fourteenth century A D)

After a valuable introduction the author devotes a chapter

to the distinctions between the various classes of slaves, of which there were seven as with Manu, but, so far as concerns the private slavery to which the present work is confined, they may be regarded as belonging to two main classes, the redeemable debt slaves and those for whom there was usually no release. The next two chapters are concerned with the various aspects of the contract of slavery, and these are followed by a most interesting chapter on the condition of the slaves As elsewhere in the Far East, slavery was of a mild type, and lacked the worst features which characterized the institution in Africa and America By the middle of the nineteenth century the harsher treatment accorded to those prisoners of war in private service had been so far mitigated that they had been assimilated to the main mass of bought slaves, while the debt slaves enjoyed rights and privileges which in many cases made them hardly distinguishable from members of the family The various means by which the slaves could obtain their freedom are next discussed, and this leads up to the final chapter which deals with the abolition of slavery in Siam. This task, which was seriously begun in 1874, was of necessity a gradual process and was not completed until some thirty years later

In elaborating his subject under the above heads, and in completing his study with a translation of the Siamese laws of slavery and a useful bibliography, Dr Lingat has produced a comprehensive work which is a model of careful and critical research and an achievement of great value for the furtherance of our knowledge of Siamese institutions

*486* H. G QUARITCH WALES.

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SIDE-LIGHTS ON EARLY ARMENIA. By S M. GREGORY. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 15. London . Luzac & Co., 1932. 1*s*. 6*d*

Investigations into the origin of the names "Ararat" (i.e. Upper Armenia) and "Armenia", with numerous references to objects in the British Museum. The author,

an Armenian, finds the earliest record of the name "Armenia" in the Hebrew Bible, as: "Harmonah, after the mountains of 'Monah' or 'Minni' (i e Anti-Taurus), and applied, in particular, to Lower Armenia" (Amos iv, 3, mistranslated "palace" in A.V.)

*591* O W.

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THE BODHISATTVA DOCTRINE IN BUDDHIST SANSKRIT LITERATURE By Har Dayal, M A, Ph.D $3\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. pp xx + 392 London Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co, Ltd, 1932 18*s*

Dr Dayal's work has brought him the success at London University, which his unflagging industry and exploitation of a hitherto unmapped field so richly deserved. The book should supply a long-felt desideratum, namely a volume of reference for such writings as are of interest to the historical philologian, with no claim, however, to a place in the forefront of Sanskrit literature Though these authors were devoted to the cult of Buddha, they wrote in a manner at once tedious and turgid Through the springtide of their labours, of which much is still untranslated, our author has waded, often supplying the renderings of various translators (where such exist), and fearlessly criticising the work of older hands This is as it should be, and it is what pioneers rightly expect, theirs has been pioneer work, and such work has yet to be completed

Where the book is immature, there the pioneers have themselves almost of necessity revealed immaturity A conspicuous example is the failure to treat the causes, the sources, whence sprang this Mahāyānist doctrine, in a duly historical way

I will explain by reference to such sources as are least unfamiliar to myself More time should have been spent in evaluating the truer historical perspective of the Śakyan (pre-Hīnayāna) tenets which have been selected, since they throw light on the emergence of a Bodhisattva "Communion

of Saints", which supersedes the individualistic waning out from sentient existence of Arahans, i.e. men who were looked upon as "having done what was to be done". I am not referring to the opening study, contrasting arahan and bodhisattva: this is done well and historically I refer, for example to such discussion as that on "Buddhist *viññāṇa*" (p. 74), and the oft-repeated charge of anomaly in a teaching, which tries to combine a transient "momentary man" with the man persisting after this bit of life and becoming bodhisat, nay, buddha. Dr Dayal pleads rightly that *viññāna* actually meant "the man" (*puruṣa*) as consciously persisting But while he quotes the two little Māra Suttas, where, with the body lying dead, the clairvoyant goes on seeking the *viññāṇa*, that once made that body *saviññānakam kāyaṃ*, he ignores the very trenchant and insistent Sutta 38 of the Majjhima-Nikāya, where we see the later monastic teaching about *viññāna* beginning to emerge For, actually, Buddhist *viññāṇa* has its history. Once it was "man persisting" and as such, shown inquiring about his destiny from religious messengers This we see in the parable appended to the Kimsukā Sutta (*Saṃyutta*, iv, p 194, xxxv, p. 204), *viññāṇa*, lord of the body, hearing messengers But before we come to the date when the Commentaries were recast into Pali, *viññāna* had become merely synonymous with *citta*, "awareness," as merely meaning "minding". Either term is affixed to *paṭisandhi* "reconception", "rebirth", and a modern Buddhist will tell you "for us *viññāna* and *citta* are synonymous" (*Compendium of Philosophy*, Appendix)

Such historical awareness does not play its due part in this otherwise very valuable work, and I hope that the author will not stop here, but will proceed to study the evolution in Hīnayāna monastic teaching, as revealed in the Pali Commentaries. It is perhaps only there that we can realize how utterly the "man", as *any sort of entity whatever*, came to be denied, "was only a bunch of dhammas"· "Way is there but no wayfarer," etc., and we learn how impossible

it is to treat rightly the early sources of Mahāyānism, as a flat picture, with its whole "life" in the foreground. This lack of historical sensibility is the only fault in a work that I am glad to have on a near shelf

499 C A F RHYS DAVIDS.

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ANNUAL REPORT ON SOUTH INDIAN EPIGRAPHY FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST MARCH, 1929 13 × 8½. pp iii + 63. Madras Government Press, 1931 6s 9d.

This report has been submitted by Mr S V. Viswanatha, who succeeded Mr G Venkoba Rao, whose death, early in 1929, was a loss to the department he had for so many years served It contains a record of 22 copper-plate inscriptions and 542 stone inscriptions pertaining to the Madras districts, examined and copied during the year, as well as of 248 stone inscriptions copied in the Bombay Karnatak districts of Bijāpur and Dhārwār In addition to the serial lists arranged by district, taluk, and village, the principal inscriptions containing dates have been re-arranged chronologically, with astronomical details and English equivalents of the dates according to the dynasties under which they were issued.

Though no inscriptions of outstanding importance find a place in this record, there are several of interest and of historical value Those issued under Vijayanagara kings are numerous, ranging from the time of Vīra-Sāyaṇa-Uḍaiyar, son of Kamparāja (A D 1350) to that of Venkatapatideva Mahārāya (A D 1797) This last inscription is interesting, as showing how the idea of the overlordship of Vijayanagara persisted down to comparatively modern times (cf Sewell's *Lists*, ii, p 7, No 46) Inscription No 287 of the Sāḷuva dynasty (A D 1470) contains the interesting record that, as a result of the invasion of the Vijayanagara kingdom by the Gajapati king of Orissa, the Śiva temple at Iḍaiyāru in the South Arcot district had fallen into decay and remained deserted for about ten years, which would indicate that this

Gajapati invasion, to which references are also found in inscriptions at Jambai and Tirukoilur in the same district, occurred about A D 1460–1 Inscription No. 416, found at the Ādinātha (Jaina) temple at Ponnūr in the North Arcot district, is also important in view of its reference to the worship by the Jainas of Suvarṇapura-Kanakagiri (? Ponnūr) of Helācārya (or Elācārya), who would appear to have inculcated the Jvālāmālinī cult of the goddess of fire

These annual reports testify to the great wealth of epigraphical material in southern India, and to the vast amount of work which its editing and publication will undoubtedly entail.

*498* C. E A W O.

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ACROSS THE GOBI DESERT. By SVEN HEDIN. (Translated from the German by H J Cant) 9 × 5½. pp. xxi + 402; 114 ills, 3 maps. London. George Routledge & Sons, 1931. 25s

The "Sino-Swedish Expedition" to the north-western provinces of China under the leadership of the veteran explorer, Dr. Sven Hedin, left Pekin in May, 1927, and reached Urumchi at the end of February, 1928 The staff comprised eighteen Europeans, including, besides Swedes, three Germans, one Dane and one Russian, and ten Chinese, accompanied by thirty-four servants, the transport of supplies, tents, and baggage required some 250 camels. An expedition of this magnitude setting forth to cross the inhospitable wastes and deserts between railhead at Paotow and Urumchi—a distance of over 1,300 miles—necessarily involved elaborate preparation and organization, and Dr. Hedin is to be congratulated on securing the cordial co-operation of all members of his staff in overcoming the difficulties and dangers of the journey. He was specially fortunate in having the calm, yet energetic and resourceful Mr. Larson, with his intimate acquaintance with Mongolia and with camels, as a caravan leader.

The present volume treats chiefly of the personal experiences and occupations of Dr. Hedin and his staff on the journey, describing the vicissitudes incidental to such travel, the daily routine of the march, the enforced, irksome delays, the "revolt" of camels, thieving and brigandage, shortage of food supply for camels and men, and other mishaps, and finally the unexpected obstruction met with at first from the authorities in Sin-kiang Incidentally we are given an interesting account of the history of the Torgots and of the personality of the autocratic ruler of Sin-kiang, Marshal Yang Tsêng-hsin, who was assassinated a few months later.

But as to the scientific results of the exploration and research carried out, the information is comparatively small. The wide scope and scientific importance of the work done by the several members of this expedition will, however, be understood from the brief summary given in the preface written for this English edition We are given to understand that the geologist, Dr Erik Norin, has made most important contributions to the knowledge of the geology and orography of Chinese Turkestan, that Professor Yuan has discovered at the northern foot of the T'ien-shan fossil dinosaurs in great numbers, probably belonging to a species hitherto unknown, that upwards of 100,000 specimens of artefacts of the stone age have been collected, that there have been found more than 10,000 pieces of MSS on wooden slips dating from the first century B C and perhaps earlier, besides paper MSS in Uigur, Chinese, Mongolian, Hsi-hsia, Irānian, and a language probably yet unknown; that important discoveries of carboniferous-age fossils have been made, valuable botanical, entomological and ethnological collections secured, anthropological measurements conducted, and important meteorological observations carried out. The publication of the details of all this research will be eagerly awaited by scholars

There are, however, two matters of outstanding interest dealt with at some length in this volume that may be noticed.

Dr. Hedin describes how, during his exploration of the Lop area in the years 1900–01 he had been led from the series of levels taken, and other indications, to the conclusion that the Tarim with its tributary the Konche-daryā had in ancient times followed the course of what was afterwards known as the Kuruk-daryā ('dry river'), and flowing eastward past Lou-lan (on its north side) had emptied its waters into a lake to the north-east of the then Lop-nor or Kara-koshun He definitely predicted, moreover, that the river would revert to its former course, and the old northern lake be re-formed. This view as to the periodical swing of the lower Tarim channel and the consequent shifting of its terminal lake bore out the opinion that had been expressed by von Richthofen His feelings may well be imagined when, at Turfan in February, 1928, he received information that the Konche-daryā had, in fact, shifted its course, some seven years back, into the Karuk-daryā bed Steps were taken to have the position investigated on the spot, resulting in the establishment of the truth of his prediction.

As regards the old inland sea, Dr Norin, it is stated, has come to the conclusion that in late glacial times the whole Tarim basin was filled by an enormous lake At the southern foot of the Kuruk-tagh he found the northern shore of this lake sharply and clearly defined Further west this northern shore-line is often interrupted owing to the action of rivers coming down from the T'ien-shan To the east of Kashgar, along the Masar-tagh, the shore-line disappears in a south-south-east direction under the sand of the Takla-makan. He has also determined that the earth's crust has undergone changes of level since the great lake disappeared, the northern shore-line showing a pronounced fall from west to east, it being 300 metres higher at Aksu, and farther west 250 metres higher, than to the north of Lou-lan. Owing to this crust movement the water flowed towards the east, forming a lake which Dr. Norin calls Great Lop-nor. Here and there he was able to trace the outlines of this latter,

freshwater, lake Men had lived apparently on its shores—perhaps in the palæolithic age, as on its northern and western shores he found roughly fashioned arrow-heads of jasper Few more fascinating subjects can be conceived than that of the changes which have occurred in this area of Central Asia, and we shall look forward to reading Dr. Norin's presentation of the story

463 C E A. W O

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AN ACCOUNT OF THE TAMIL ACADEMIES By T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN, M A , B L 10 × 7, pp 49. Madras Madras Law Journal Press

This essay, which the author explains is one of a series of studies preliminary to a larger work which he has in hand on the history of the Sangam Age, is not an account of the Tamil Sangams, but a critical analysis of the famous treatise on Love known as *Iraiyanâr Ahapporul*, and the commentary thereon, ascribed to one Nak-Kîrar, the subject of much scholastic controversy

In the treatise itself Mr Aravamuthan is not much interested, but the Commentary contains quasi-historical matter, the value of which it is his purpose to determine

The Commentary comprises *inter alia* a lengthy introduction (which includes the only extant traditional account of the Tamil Sangams) and upwards of 350 illustrative stanzas, of which fifty are citations from classics of the Sangam period, and the remainder, written in more modern Tamil, celebrate some royal hero or heroes referred to by different names

In this complex Mr Aravamuthan discerns three strata. Iraiyanâr, the traditional author of the treatise, was, he believes, not a god, as some suppose, but a real person, a grammarian of note who wrote in the fourth or fifth century A D Nak-Kîrar, the commentator, he proves, cannot possibly be the Sangam poet of that name Accepting the "modern" stanzas as his, he identifies the hero they honour with an

historical Pândyan King who reigned about A.D. 700 and assigns that date to Nak-Kîrar The account of the Sangams and other passages he regards definitely as interpolations, inserted in the Commentary in about A.D. 850.

Mr. Aravamuthan writes in an attractive style, and makes his points well Whether his conclusions gain general acceptance or not, his critique throws a useful light on a very intricate problem

*420* F J R.

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THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF CONFUCIANISM An interpretation of the Social and Political Ideas of Confucius, his Forerunners, and his Early Disciples By LEONARD SHIHLIEN HSU, M A, LL B, Professor at Yenching University, etc

The author of this monograph is Professor Leonard Shihlien Hsu, who is the Political Secretary to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Nanking. It gives a clear and scholarly exposition of the Confucian system, and it is gratifying to find at a time when the teaching of Confucius in China is supposed to be at a discount that a writer of the standing and in the position of Professor Hsu has come forward as a champion of that teaching and maintains that the Confucian philosophy is not only desirable in the country of its origin but also in the West He says "If the West desires to realize the highest ideals of Christianity, it must practise something like unto the Confucian teachings of political morality, and be restored to consciousness from the chloroform of Machiavellian politics. Otherwise, this world-wide social, political, and moral paralysis will continue until the final disappearance of art and learning" The author hopes that his study may help "students both in the Orient and Occident to understand the social and political psychology of the Chinese people in relation to their social and political development". It is certain that this hope will be fulfilled, for as Professor Corbin of Princetown

University in his *Foreword* states, "to the average reader's exiguous portrait of one of the three or four greatest teachers of the human race, Professor Hsu's exposition of the Confucian system will come as a revelation and a most instructive one"

The author being fully alive to the difficulties in historical research of the choice of source-matter and to the caution required to avoid interpreting one's ideas on the basis of false books, has been careful to use only original materials and to omit all spurious passages Destructive criticism of spurious literature in general and of the Chinese Classics in particular has been rife in China of recent years, as those who have studied the works of Professor Ku Chieh-Kang and Dr. Hu Shih are aware Such criticism is without doubt of great value, but as the author points out, "spurious literature has had its influence and its place in the development of Chinese thinking No one will doubt that the *Hsiao Ching* or the *Book of Filial Piety* was not written by Confucius. yet this book has been read by every Chinese literate at childhood . . . Likewise *Kuan Tzŭ*, *Lieh Tzŭ*, *Han Fei Tzŭ*, and numerous other writers of philosophy are rare beauties of the ancient, and may be interpreted as the thinking of the time when the books were written, though not of the persons in whose names they appear" The author's monograph is a valuable addition to the Broadway Oriental Library, edited by Clement Egerton and the work can be confidently recommended for perusal by all who are interested in China and its philosophy.

A reproduction of the picture of the Sage attributed to the famous artist Wu Tao-tzŭ forms the frontispiece, and there is a Selected Bibliography of the most important books for studying the social and political ideas of Confucius and his disciples

549 J. H. Stewart Lockhart.

CHURCHES AT JERASH. A Preliminary Report of the Joint ... British School Expeditions to Jerash, 1928–30. ... J. W. CROWFOOT, C B E, M A., British School of Archæology in Jerusalem Supplementary Paper, No. 3. 9½ × 11⅝, pp. 48 London British School of Archæology in Jerusalem, 1931

Jerash, the classical Gerasa, between Mizpeh and Ramoth-Gilead, has practically no history.

Probably of Hellenistic foundation, it was, according to Josephus, taken by Lucius Annius on behalf of Vespasian, and was also the birth-place of Simon of Gerasa, the free-lance who in the last days of Jerusalem divided control of the city with John of Gischala.

It was so greatly embellished in the Age of the Antonines to become in Conder's view a ruin second only to Palmyra, and in Canon Tristram's probably the most perfect Roman ... above ground.

... is not, however, with its naumachia, magnificent *via principalis*, oval forum and temple of Artemis that this ... deals, but with the buildings of its decline, the Christian period from the fourth to the seventh centuries

The thirteen churches referred to fall into five geographical groupings, those namely in the centre, north-west, west, and south-west quarters of the city and that on the east bank of the Karawan which flows through it, the finest being the Fountain complex in the centre, built round a miraculous fountain, probably originally sacred to the Infant Dionysus, and the western group (the contiguous churches of S John, S. George, and SS. Cosmas and Damianus)

All the churches drew largely and one entirely on the materials of the older pagan buildings.

It is worthy of note that the Fountain court complex is similar in plan to the lay-out of the buildings round the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.

Rather small, the churches stood in crowded precincts, and except for shell niches and small glazed and larger,

probably unglazed, windows in the upper parts, orna[illegible] was practically confined to the interiors which [illegible] with bronze-clamped slabs of local pink and yellow l[illegible] or, rarely, marble, or gold and glass mosaics, or were plastered and painted

Externally they were surrounded by lean-to roofs, and had a pillared atrium

The larger spans were roofed with timber, the apses and exedrae usually with tufa.

Illumination was by means of glass lamps of the type still used at Jerusalem

Of great interest are the dedications, especially one in hexameters celebrating the discontinuance of heathen sacrifices (there is an English hexameter translation of this i Conder's *Palestine*), and one which includes a tribune Dagis theus whom the author suggests may be identified with officer mentioned in Procopius' *On the Persian War.*

The volume contains a technical account of the [illegible] which are indeed practically the sole decorative survivals

The designs varied from the most simple geometric pa[illegible] to the rich complexity of an oriental rug.

The tesserae were mostly of local limestone, creamy white, yellow, brown, pink, red, grey, and black

Interesting are the scenes from the Flood in the Synagogue Church and the pictures of Egyptian cities, Alexandria (with the Pharos, the Gates of the Sun and Moon, and the colonnades), Memphis, Canopus, etc

The plates give bird's-eye views of the chief buildings and the mosaics (two coloured), and inset are plans and cuts illustrating the development of mosaic design. There is a large plan of the Fountain court complex at the end.

The volume is very well done, concise but sufficient.

483 E B. W. CHAPPELOW.

THE RELIGION OF TIBET. By Sir CHARLES BELL. 9 × 5½. pp. 235, 69 illustrations, 3 maps. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, and London. Humphrey Milford, 1931 18s.

Sir Charles Bell's *The Religion of Tibet* and his two other recent volumes on Tibetan history and people form a valuable trilogy for the cultured general reader desirous of reliable information on "an exceptional country and people" with a remarkable religion The author's official experience and intimacy with Tibetans from Dalai Lama to peasant gives him unrivalled qualifications for his undertaking

The present work is for the most part an easily read history of the rise and spread of Buddhism in its later Mahāyāna form in Tibet, also in Mongolia, and it includes chapters on early Buddhism in India, on the old Shamanistic *Pon* (Bon) faith, and on Roman Catholic missions in Lhasa. The second part (in three chapters) provides a vivid picture of the unique combination of spiritual and secular power so shrewdly exercised by His Holiness, the present Dalai Lama, and describes the relative positions of the Council of Ministers, the National Assembly, and the almost autonomous corporations of reactionary and often turbulent monks in the Tibetan body politic of the present day

The writer's apt and frequent quotations from native historians, his familiarity with the scene, and still more with Tibetan mentality, endow the narrative with unusual colour and vigour

At the end of the book there is a valuable excursus, entitled "Sources". Some, like the reviewer, will turn to it first. But a bibliography of European works on Tibetan religion might have been included here with advantage. Surely Waddell, Grunwedel, Getty, and other serious writers deserve mention? Further, the passing references (on pp 202–3) to Csoma and (on p 201) to Sarat Chandra Das, will not indicate to the non-specialist the enormous value of these scholars' contributions to our knowledge of the Tibetan language and religion

We learn that Lhasa record-rooms contain a wealth of historical and statistical material. Ecclesiastical histories and biographies of saints, we know, abound. The author has freely used his own collection of vernacular histories, and, in particular, the *Blue Treasury* or *Tep-ter Ngon-po*, completed by the translator *Go* in 1476

This historian *Go*, as Sir Charles demonstrates, is most trustworthy, almost to the same degree, perhaps, as his other main authority, the highly esteemed *Pu-ton* (*Bu-ston*), c 1290–1364 Recently E Obermiller has recorded "the overwhelmingly scientific value" of a part of *Bu-ston's* history of Buddhism, in that it contains "a systematic review of the whole of Buddhist literature so far as preserved in Tibet . . . ". Now that Obermiller is giving us *Bu-ston's* history in English, is it too much to hope that Sir Charles will do the same for *Go*? His full knowledge qualifies him to render to the history of Central Tibet a service similar to that which A. H. Francke's vol. ii of *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, has so admirably rendered to the Western Empire

Here Sir Charles is not addressing specialists, so it would, perhaps, be ungracious to expect mention of the large but as yet hardly explored Bon literature, now known to exist, some of which is in European hands The same criticism would apply to recent research in Sanskrit Buddhist treatises, so important to an understanding of the Mādhyamika school, which originated with that perplexing figure Nāgārjuna.

On p 58 the initial cycle of the Tibetan calendar is rightly said to commence from A D 1027. This is what M. Pelliot established (p 663, *JA*, Paris, 1913) But, though Tsong-ka-pa's death is placed correctly in 1419, it is unfortunate that his birth-year (1357 according to Pelliot) has been put a year too late, perhaps by a slip? This birth-date deserved care, since Sarat Chandra Das went wrong over it in two different ways

But few readers will wish to become engulfed in Tibetan chronology or metaphysics The majority will be gratified

to discover how easy and safe a path has been constructed for them among the intricacies of Lamaism It is, indeed, a notable achievement to have given so lucid and fair an exposition of this complex religious system and the many diverse elements contained in it. In the carefully ordered wealth of informative detail in this book, all placed in correct perspective, there is not a suspicion of pedantic dryness or popular exaggeration. Finally we are grateful, not only for three maps, but for the many striking and well-reproduced photographs, which prove the author to be as adept with his camera as he is with his pen

*509* H L S.

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AQUILA AND ONKELOS By A E SILVERSTONE, M A, Ph.D Semitic Languages Series. No 1. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp 172 Manchester Manchester University Press, 1931. 12*s* 6*d*.

The author of this book endeavours in the first place to prove not only that Aquilas and Onkelos are one and the same person, the difference being due merely to dialectical pronunciation, but also that Aquilas is none other than the well-known Aquila, the translator of the Bible into Greek and also the author of the Aramaic translation of the Pentateuch known as the Targum of Onkelos The problem of the latter has exercised the mind of a large number of scholars, and the author has not failed to avail himself of the rich literature which has been accumulated especially during the last century. He is thoroughly acquainted with the books and pamphlets written on the subject and his work, therefore, deserves attention. In the first place he has collected all the stories and legends told about both of those men in the rabbinical literature, and he shows that there exists a very close parallelism, so much so that they are often indistinguishable. Then he proceeds to discuss the character of the Greek translation and the character of the Aramaic Targum. He lays special stress on the similarity of surmounting difficulties in the Hebrew text,

e.g. both avoid anthropomorphical expressions and both endeavour to be as literal as possible. From those arguments the author comes to the conclusion that the man who translated the Bible into Greek, who was a proselyte from the Pontus and had studied under Gamaliel II and the contemporaries of Rabbi Akiba, also translated the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch into the vernacular Aramaic was the popular language of the time He also shows that in the Targum a number of Greek words have been preserved But the general opinion among scholars is that the Targum in its actual form belongs to the fourth or fifth century, and is more or less the product of the schools in Babylon In older literature it is always quoted as the Babylonian Targum in contradistinction to another Targum known as the Palestinian, which has been preserved in a complete form as well as in a fragmentary one. The author argues that the Targum is also of Palestinian origin, and belongs, like the Greek, to the first half of the second century But it is with regret one must say that he has failed to prove his case In the first place one cannot deny that the language of the Targum is anything but Palestinian On the other hand, as mentioned above, an old Targum existed already in Palestine. It is an extended paraphrase of the text and is full of legendary matter It contains, however, legal interpretations and important passages of the Pentateuch. Like the T. Onkelos, it also contains a few Greek words and avoids anthropomorphisms But in the time of Akiba the necessity arose for the compilation of a more literal Targum. This has a history of its own, and no doubt was made under the influence of R Akiba It may have been the starting point for the present Targum worked over in Babylon But an investigation into the history of this Targum cannot be undertaken without a minute comparison of the existing Palestinian Targum, both the complete and the fragmentary forms and those small portions which have still come to light from the Geniza and which show a steady evolution in the history of the Targum.

One must also compare the Samaritan Targum. This latter shows a surprising similarity to that of Onkelos. The author should not have limited himself to the Peshitta. To the Jews the Greek translation by Aquila remains practically unknown. It was of no importance to them, and so there is little wonder that the name of the author of such a translation approved of by R. Akiba should have been transferred to the Aramaic Targum, the language of which they understood and which had been produced under the same auspices as those under which Aquila's Greek translation was created. It was a mere transfer of names. It is out of the question that the author of the Greek translation, who followed, more or less, the tendency of the time, common also to the Targumim, should have had anything to do with the Aramaic translation, which in many ways was fundamentally different from the Greek. But leaving the final conclusion aside, the book is the work of a man who has spent much time and care in the production. He has been able to present the problem in a scholarly manner.

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TĀRĪKH-I MUBĀRAK SHĀHĪ, by YAHYĀ BIN AHMAD BIN 'ABDULLĀH AS-SĪHRINDĪ. Edited by SHAMSU-'L-'ULAMĀ M. HIDĀYAT HOSAIN, Ph.D., F.A.S.B., Khān Bahādur. A History of the Sultans of Delhi from the time of Mu'izz Ad-Dīn Muhammad bin Sām to A.H. 838. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. vi + 278. Printed at the Baptist Mission Press and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Bibliotheca Indica series). Calcutta, 1931.

This work is a valuable contribution to the authorities at our disposal for the history of Muslim rule in India, and is the only original authority for the reigns of the first two kings of the Sayyid Dynasty in Delhi. MSS. of the work are extremely rare, but the learned editor has had the use of three, one supplied by a friend and rotograph copies of two others, one in the British Museum and the other in the Bodleian

Library. Extracts from the work, translated into **English**, have already been published in vol. iv of Elliot and Dowson's *History of India, as told by its own Historians*, but the MS. there used was so defective and full of errors that the editor found it necessary to supplement it with extracts from Nizâmu-'d-dīn Ahmad, who, as well as Firishta, was a shameless plagiarist The publication of the complete text of the work is a boon, for there is much that neither plagiarist has copied, and the work is of value not only as a contemporary history of the reigns of the later Tughluqs and the first two Sayyid king but as a record of earlier dynasties, for the author undoubtedly had access to early authorities no longer known to us. For instance, our contemporary authorities for the reign of Muḥammad *bin* Tughluq are Baranī and Ibn Battūta, of whom the former pays very little attention to chronology, while the latter remained in India for only part of the reign, and is not very precise regarding the dates of the events which he records during that period, and the chronology of the reign has therefore been hitherto rather vague, though some attempt was made to determine it in the Society's *Journal* for 1922 (pp 361–5) Yahyā *bin* Ahmad gives a chronological record of the reign, which supports the conclusion arrived at in vol iii of the *Cambridge History of India* (pp 141–4) that there were two migrations from Delhi to Daulatābād, the first in A D 1327–8, which was voluntary except in the case of courtiers and officials, and the second in 1329, when all the people of Delhi were driven to Daulatābād Professor Dowson's refusal to admit the author's claim to rank as an historian is hardly just, for he is not inferior to other historians of his own age and country, and in his records of the earlier Muslim dynasties gives us information not to be found elsewhere For instance, he gives a more definite reason than any other author for the disregard of Balban's will that his successor should be Khusrav Khān, the son of the "Martyr Prince" It seems that it

was on account of his violent temper that the courtiers feared to raise him to the throne.

The account of the early days of the Khaljī dynasty is interesting, and contains some details, among them a reason for the closing of the wine-shops by 'Alā'u-'d-dīn Khaljī, which I do not remember to have read elsewhere The word اجهر, used for the small gold coins of the Deccan, is not familiar to me

The author's style is Indian. He omits the *iẓāfa* where a Persian would use it, and he misuses the *hamza* This we might have expected from his *nasab*, but it is unfortunate that we know hardly anything else of him

His record of his own time, the reigns of Firūz Shāh, the later Tughluqs and the first two Sayyids, appears to be honest, though it is necessarily so worded as to be acceptable to the monarch to whom the work was presented This is the only portion of the work which is used by Elliot and Dowson. There are a few misprints in the text, one for which the editor and the printers are perhaps not responsible, as it may have been a misspelling by the author, but the work has been carefully edited, and the learned editor has rendered a signal service to students of Indian history, for the *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* is a more valuable authority than those acquainted only with the extracts in the *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, the *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, and Elliot and Dowson would have suspected

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KĀMARŪPAŚĀSANĀBALĪ BHŪMIKĀ KĀMARŪPARĀJĀBALĪ SAMANBITA By P BHATTĀCHĀRJYA $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, pp. viii + 48 + 216, pls. 13. Calcutta. Gurudas Chaṭṭopādhyāya and Sons, 1931

Our information regarding the dynasties that ruled in ancient Kāmarūpa, which corresponds very roughly to the modern province of Assam, is derived mainly from a number

of inscriptions on copper plates recording grants of land. There are usually three plates strung together on a ring, the inscription being incised on the reverse of the first plate, on both sides of the centre one, and on the obverse of the third Apart from particulars of the grant, the inscriptions contain a good deal of information regarding the ruler's ancestry, his personal qualities and achievements, his capital, and the extent of his dominions

Two of these ancient title deeds were already known in 1894 when historical inquiries in Assam were first taken up in earnest Four more were discovered in the course of the search which was then made and were deciphered by the late Dr A F R Hoernle [1] Five others have since come to light · these were all deciphered by Professor Padmanāth Bhattāchārjya, who throughout his service in Assam took a great interest in the antiquities of the province

The earliest of this series of inscriptions refers to a grant by Bhāskara Varmmā, a contemporary of the Chinese pilgrim Huien Tsang, who visited him and wrote an account of him and his kingdom. The next (only one leaf has been found) is of Harjara, whose rock inscription at Tezpur bears a date equivalent to A D 829 The remaining seven inscriptions record grants by four subsequent kings, the last of whom was ruling about A.D 1133. The genealogies in these plates provide a fairly complete list of the kings who reigned in Kāmarūpa from about the fifth century.

In the volume under review Professor Bhattāchārjya has given a revised reading of the text of all these plates, together with a translation into Bengali and a photographic reproduction of one or two pages of each set of plates. The volume will be of great use to scholars, the more so as the readings of most of the plates found since 1894 have hitherto been available only in local Bengali publications, which are not easily obtainable

[1] The readings were published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*

In an introductory chapter the author has collected a number of references to ancient Assam in the *Mahābhārata* and other old writings Most of these had already been mentioned in the Report on the Progress of Historical Research submitted to the Assam Government in 1897, which, however, has long been out of print In estimating the dates of the eleven rulers who are mentioned in Bhāskara Varmmā's land-grant as having preceded that monarch, the author allows an average of twenty-five years to each reign, as compared with a known average of about sixteen years in the case of some subsequent dynasties

Professor Bhattāchārjya is to be congratulated on his enterprise in publishing at his own cost this very useful contribution to the cause of historical research in Assam Its circulation would have been wider if it had been written in English instead of Bengali

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ARSLAN-TASH Par F THUREAU-DANGIN, A BARROIS, G DOSSIN, et M DUNAND Haut-Commissariat de la République Française en Syrie et au Liban : Service des Antiquités et des Beaux-Arts : Bibliothèque archéologique et historique. Tome XVI. 11 × 9, pp. 142, figs. 50, 2 plans, 48 plates (separate). Paris : P. Geuthner, 1931 Frs 300.

Two short spells of excavation, in the spring and autumn of 1928, on the site occupied by the Kurdish village of Arslan-Tash in the plain of Saruj, served to reveal the principal structures of an Assyrian provincial capital, and some part at least of its decorations. This work was directed with great ability by M Thureau-Dangin and his collaborators, and to them, but principally to the leader, is due the present full but admirably concise and plain account of the discoveries, which appears with a promptitude that their importance demanded.

The mutilated inscription upon one of the stone bulls

which flanked the entrance to a temple shows for the first time that the Assyrian name of this place was Ḫadatu, and that it owed a rather transitory importance, as well as the whole of its public monuments, to the policy of Tiglath-pileser III Hardly anything more is known about this town, which marked a stage on the military route leading to the Assyrian crossing of the Euphrates at Til-Barsib (Tell Ahmar), and after this one reign it seems to have relapsed into its former obscurity The energy which Tiglath-pileser exerted to re-establish the Assyrian hold upon the West may be judged by the scale of the buildings with which he enriched Ḫadatu, while having at the same time another, and apparently even more elaborate, residence made for himself at the next stage, Til-Barsib.

Among the remains of buildings found, the largest and best preserved is the palace, built of crude brick, with the general arrangement of outer and inner courts having surrounding chambers, the principal of which are two suites of apartments, with elaborate bathrooms, which the excavators assign to the king himself and to his ladies These rooms open towards the south, in order to avoid the dust-laden north wind which prevails in those parts. There are certain peculiarities in the plan, which the excavators have noted, and an interesting feature is the whitewashing of the walls and the decoration of the royal chambers with a broad band of geometric patterns in blue and red with outlines of black To the north of the eastern wing of the palace lay a subsidiary building "Z", and to the east of the palace lay the remains of the older *bâtiment aux ivoires* in which were found the splendid ornaments which gave it the name. A temple was also discovered and partly excavated, it had entrances guarded by pairs of bulls and lions in the regular Assyrian style, but it is noticeable that here, being sculptured in the hard basalt of the country, they were made to bear more of the weight of the door-jambs than was ever imposed upon the fragile limestone *colossi* of Assyria proper.

The walls of the town were also traced. They proved to be roughly circular, a plan of which the best known example is Sinjirli (Sam'al) Of the three gates the western seems to have been the most elaborate, for it was decorated with sculptured slabs, mostly depicting the Assyrian army. Several of these slabs have long been in the Ottoman Museum at Constantinople, having been accidentally found in 1886. These, and others found in the excavation, are fully described, and illustrated in the plates, as are also a group of statues and a fine stele in relief (Adad upon the bull) which stood in the temple

The highest interest of all is reserved for a remarkable find of ivory decorations, in relief and in open work, most of which were obviously the ornamentation of one or more beds of state Among them was found a fragmentary inscription with the name of " our lord Hazael ", and M Thureau-Dangin holds with much probability that the richly-ornamented beds had belonged to the palace at Damascus in the time of the king of that name, whose successor was obliged to render to the Assyrian king Adad-nirari III a great treasure, among which beds and stools with decorations of ivory are specifically mentioned Such a date (ninth century B C ) agrees perfectly, of course, with that of the long-celebrated Nimrûd ivories found by Layard, and the style of the two finds is remarkably similar Both are products of a Syrian art which drew almost the whole of its elements from outside sources, among which the Egyptian is, at least superficially, the most copious Various subjects are represented, many being already familiar from the Nimrûd ivories the birth of Horus, the " union of the two lands " (of Egypt), divers forms of sphinxes, and the woman at the window, but Arslan-Tash is particularly rich in very fine examples of the simple but highly decorative group of the cow giving suck to her calf, towards which she turns back her head ; the Egyptian and Ægæan origins of this pattern are traced in detail by the authors.

The forty-eight plates, carried in a separate " atlas ", and

the plans attached to the text-volume are all excellent, and the disposition of the work is so perspicuous that an index is not very seriously missed

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LES BRONZES DU LURISTAN. Par ANDRÉ GODARD Ars Asiatica XVII 14 × 10½, pp 116, pls 68 Paris: G Van Oest, 1931.

For the first time M Godard gives in this book some at least of the particulars concerning the origin of the bronze arms, implements, and ornaments which began to appear in the antiquity markets of Europe two or three years ago, and coincided so fortunately with the Persian Art Exhibition of 1931, where there was a notable display of them They were not entirely novel at their first appearance, for there were already a few specimens in museums, but these had never been attributed with any confidence to any place or time. The fresh discoveries, soon growing to a multitude, did very little at first to elucidate the question, but it was at least fairly certain that they were found by native diggers in the territory of the Lurs As to their makers and their date the most divergent opinions were expressed Meanwhile, the accomplishment of their workmanship, the occasional attractiveness of their designs, and the *bizarrerie* of their style caused them to be eagerly collected.

M Godard, whose official position in Persia has given him unequalled opportunities, now reveals that these objects are found in cemeteries, chiefly in the district called Dasht-i-Kawa, an upland tract not many miles from the town of Harsîn, though the area of the bronzes is not strictly confined to Luristan but seems to extend somewhat northward into the Kurdish country The number of these objects recovered is explained by the remarkable uniformity of the conditions in which cemeteries were found, which made it perfectly simple for the natives to divine their position, and to locate

the graves by means of an instrument no more elaborate than an iron probe. The settlements were those of a people in a state of half-nomadism (as the inhabitants still are to-day), who spent only the hot weather in these upland tracts, where they dwelt of necessity in the vicinity of a spring beside which the visible mark of their places is an artificial mound, and generally a pool to receive the water of the spring The graves themselves are generally of stone, the lining either of large or small stones with slabs across the top. Another type of burial is in large pottery jars ; these are of a poorer kind, and mostly used where stone is not at hand M Godard scouts the persistent story of the natives and dealers that man and horse were buried together. On the other hand, it seems to be true that the head of the dead man was often found resting on the bar of one of the elaborate horse-bits

After describing the cemeteries and tombs, the author devotes the rest of his introduction to a consideration of the types of bronzes found, arms, personal ornaments, horse and chariot furniture, vessels, and the few seals and pots which the tombs have yielded The most important point which he makes is the comparison of these objects with the discoveries of de Morgan in the district of Tâlish, at the south-western corner of the Caspian Sea , in one instance after another he is able to show not only resemblance but identity between the products of the two regions, and thus to prove that the influences which shaped the art of Luristan were predominantly northern as distinct from Mesopotamian. The latter do, indeed, appear, but only here and there, and they are confined mostly to the bronze bowls and other vessels. This part of M. Godard's introduction contains just observations, but all that he advances cannot be accepted. Throughout he speaks of the makers of these bronzes as Kassites. But there is no evidence that any of these antiquities belong to the only period in which something is known of that people, namely that part of the second millennium during which they ruled in Babylonia Had they belonged to the

Kassites of that time, examples would have been found on Babylonian sites, whereas there can be no doubt that the great bulk of them are of the first millennium And even to ascribe them to the Kassites in the subsequent centuries would be no more than a guess, the less reasonable since the district in which they are found pertained rather to the Lullubu than to the Kassites, and the two nations, though no doubt closely related are not to be confused Of the very curious composite ornaments, with a bell-like base surmounted by a grotesque animal group, a central tube, and a pin with ornamental head, M. Godard is not able to give a satisfactory explanation, and the purpose of these must remain problematical His notions about the human figure which he calls *Gilgamesh, protecteur des troupeaux,* have little justification , even if it were Gilgamesh, which there is no reason to believe, that hero was not in any obvious manner a *protecteur des troupeaux* *It is, however, true that this* figure is apotropaic, and no doubt was borrowed in that function from Babylonia

The introduction is written throughout as a commentary upon the wide range of subjects illustrated in the sixty-eight plates which form the main substance of the book ; the first few of them are interesting photographs of certain sites of these discoveries The rest show the bronzes themselves, and include many very fine examples of nearly all the types as yet known Produced with all the technical excellence that distinguishes the Van Oest books, they give splendid illustration to a novel and deeply interesting material about which we have still a good deal to learn.

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La Pâleur d'Enkidu By Georges Dossin Louvain Imprimerie Orientaliste. pp 1–30.

Dossin in this brochure has attempted a fresh examination of the second tablet of the old version of the Epic of Gilgamish, first published by the reviewer, PBS. x, part ii, collation and

notes JRAS. 1929, 343–6. He discusses the astonishment and fright inspired in the savage Enkidu by his discourse with a civilized man

Dossin has presented some observations on the text, and offers a transcription of Obv III, 35–Rev II, 3 The author is extremely daring and ingenious both in his treatment of the text and in his philological conjectures, hardly any of which are convincing It would be hazardous to incorporate his views in a standard edition of the text For example, he makes out a case for a word *anu* "water-machine", "shadouf", and thinks that *anam uzakkir* means "he raised the shadouf". *a-na-[am]* is his restoration of Obv III, 3. There is no evidence at all that *ulsu* means "abundance" in the sense of agricultural produce, but he confidently renders *i-ip-pu-uš ul-ṣa-am* by "he produced abundance", Rev. I, 1 *a-na gu-up-ri šá ri-i-im* "to the home of the shepherd", is the rendering at which I arrived in *Semitic Mythology*, 242, for Obv. II, 33. Also Ebeling and Thompson accepted my reading *šá ri-i-im*, Ungnad *ša-ri-i-im* "üppig", thriving, but Dossin introduces a word *šarû* "abundance", for which there is no evidence.

The only suggestion in this brochure which seems likely to add anything to Assyriology is the combination of *zurikāti* with *iṣuzi rīku*; both words seem to mean "water wheel". Dr. Dossin is an earnest scholar who has endeavoured *sans ira et studio* and not *ex parte* to interpret this text but he assumes the wildest suggestions to be proved, and soberly states them as facts.

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ÉTUDES SUR LE DROIT BABYLONIEN, LES LOIS ASSYRIENNES ET LES LOIS HITTITES. By ÉDOUARD CUQ. 9 × 7½, pp. VII + 522. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929. Fcs. 150.

This large volume by the distinguished authority on the history of ancient laws of the Institut de France contains his conclusions upon the entire systems of Babylonian, Assyrian,

and Hittite laws (so far as known up to the year 1928). Cuq had previously published numerous special and penetrating articles upon Babylonian laws and contracts In these studies he has always based his work largely upon the editions of his colleague in the Institut, Professor Vincent Scheil, in the present volume the great learning of Scheil was again placed at his disposal

Pages 1–431 are devoted to the *Code of Hammurabi* and contracts of that period Brief reference to the earlier fragments of the Sumerian code is made, but the author omits to give the complete literature on the editions of this code, JRAS 1920, 489–514, *Savigny Zeitschrift*, vol xli There is an analysis of the Hammurabi Code and a discussion of the term *simdat šarri*, rendered "law of the king", and a summary review of contracts which illustrate the Code Cuq's first chapter is devoted to the laws on *marriage* and definitions of the terms *tirhātu*, *biblu*, *šeriktu*, *nudunnu* Comparisons are made with Graeco-Roman laws, a subject on which the author is a recognized authority

Chapter ii is devoted to *adoption* *tul-ta pad-da* "found in a ditch", the meaning of which was discovered by Koschaker and elaborated by David,[1] has now been treated again by the writer in AJSL 48, 51–3 Chapter ii on the *freeing of slaves* is condensed and does not discuss the philological terms[2], but the author seems to agree with the consensus of opinion on the meanings of the technical terms used in the Code and contracts There are chapters on *rights of heritage*, *bequests*, and *landed property* In the discussion of the last subject (chapter vi) the author treats the difficult subject of *boundary stones* which are confined largely to the Cassite and succeeding Babylonian dynasties

Chapter vii on the management of *royal estates* is not very well documented Here Ungnad's edition of *Babylonian Letters*, VAB vi (1914), and Driver's *Letters of the First*

[1] See p 46

[2] See Landsberger, *Der Kultische Kalender*, 115, n 8 (with literature).

*Babylonian Dynasty*, OECT. iii (1924) contain very considerable information similar to that utilized by Cuq. The *Obelisk of Manistusu* might have been utilized for the earlier Accadian period. There is a long and detailed chapter (viii) on *contracts*, divided into six sections, (1) *economic conditions*, in which there is an interesting paragraph on the relative value of wheat [1] to other commodities (wool, copper, oil, etc.); (2) *contracts by correspondence*, often carried out by a third person called the "attorney" (mandataire), or intermediary; (3) *sale* and *exchange*, in which there is scant discussion on the sale of slaves and the ritual of the *bukānu* (RA 24, 91, n. 14, and 94–6); (4) *renting* of lands, houses, persons, workmen; (5) *storage* for safe-keeping; (6) *loans*

Chapter ix contains a discussion of the new fragments of the Code, Susa fragments,[2] Scheil, *Dél. Per.*, x, pl. ix, and pp 81–6, reproduced by Ungnad, *Keilschrifttexte der Gesetze Hammurapis*, 36–7. Scheil's translation of § 66 of the Code is reproduced and discussed § 71, reproduced from Scheil, contains the word *ilku*, on which Cuq discourses at length and gives all the possible meanings in various periods. § 72 is given precisely as Scheil understood it, and Ungnad's restorations are apparently regarded as erroneous.

Then Cuq discusses Poebel's new tablet from Nippur, which he had previously described (pp 6–7) Here no mention is made of the large Nippur tablet in Constantinople, BE. xxxi, 49–51.

Chapter x is devoted to *commercial firms* or companies and chapter xi discusses the question of guarantee by a third party for a debt, and chapter xii *security* in property held by a creditor for a debt. Here the author cites Neo-Babylonian contracts extensively. Chapter xiii is a study of the Babylonian judicial system, in which there is a section on the

[1] *Blé*, by which the author means "grain" in general

[2] A discussion of the legal aspects by Kohler, based on Ungnad's translation in Kohler-Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetze*, iii, 268–70.

Neo-Babylonian period The analysis of the legal aspects of the new tablets from Kerkuk in chapter xiv is based entirely on Gadd's admirable pioneer work in RA. 23, 49–161, and a preliminary article by Chiera and Spieser, and Koschaker's important study, *Neue Keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden aus der El-Amarna Zeit* Since 1929 two more volumes of these texts have been published by Chiera, so that this chapter can only be regarded as a preliminary study

Chapter xv is a rapid but lucid survey of the Assyrian law code, but it is up to date and utilizes the contracts published by Johns and Ebeling There is, however, no mention of the immense material provided by the Cappadocian contracts, a problem which Georg Eisser has now undertaken in conjunction with the Assyriologist, Julius Levy [1]

*Hittite laws* are the subject of the last chapter, which contains a succinct historical introduction, and a paragraph on the Indo-Europeans in Anatolia concludes the volume There is an index of the subject matter and glossary of the principal Accadian words discussed

This is undoubtedly a valuable survey of the whole subject by a scholar of wide learning and experience, though many of his views will be challenged; some have already been criticized by various scholars But Cuq, having at his command an encyclopædic knowledge of ancient laws and institutions, has brought to bear upon the Babylonian legal system an immense critical apparatus and has made endless illuminating comparisons There are, it is true, omissions in the literature, which often clarify the subject under discussion

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[1] See Martin David's penetrating review of Eisser-Levy in *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung*, lii (1932), 496–503

CLAY FIGURINES OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA. By E. DOUGLAS VAN BUREN. Yale Oriental Series · Researches ; Vol. XVI $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, pp. lxix + 287. pls. 68. Yale : University Press , London : Humphrey Milford, 1930. £1 7s.

Mrs Van Buren has catalogued all the Sumerian, Babylonian, and Assyrian figurines which she could find in the principal museums of the world There is firstly a long description of the sites and expeditions which excavated them, a study of the *types* of figurines throughout the long period of Sumerian, Babylonian and Assyrian history, *dress and coiffure* and of what the authoress calls the "*shorthand* system ", or method of suggesting a complete *motif* by means of a single figure The catalogue of figurines in the various public and private collections runs to 1,334 numbers. To accomplish a compilation of this magnitude the authoress travelled widely and read a voluminous literature The plates contain illustrations of 320 figures and are extremely well executed. With each figure of the plates the corresponding number in the catalogue, where the description and literature occur, is given on pp. xi–xvii , this facilitates the use of the book , other works of this kind have been published without reference to the descriptions of the figures in the text

This is a valuable and useful corpus of the figurines of Babylonia ; it is much more than a compilation, for some of the entries are new and hitherto unpublished Scholars who make use of the figurines to discuss various aspects of Sumerian and Babylonian civilization should not fail to consult this book. Material of this kind is so prolific that even Mrs. Van Buren's book is far from exhaustive. In the same year Professor Leon Legrain published *Terra-Cottas from Nippur*, PBS. vol xvi, a large book with 76 plates, 443 figures, with some material from the University Museum not utilized by Mrs Van Buren. The figurines from Ishārah on the Euphrates, published by Herzfeld, RA. xi, 131–9, seem to have been overlooked. Julius Jordan's *Uruk Warka*, 1930,

also contains some strikingly new and valuable material from Warka. It would be impossible in view of the intensive excavations now in progress to write a book on this subject which is exhaustive. This book is a valuable groundwork for all future compilations and special studies on the subject, is carefully and ably written, and conscientiously executed. It should be in the field library of every excavator in Mesopotamia

*110* S LANGDON

JASAHARACARIN OF PUṢPADANTA. An Apabhraṃśa work of the tenth century Critically edited with an introduction, glossary, and notes by P L VAIDYA The Ambādās Chaware Digambara Jain Granthamālā, or Karanja Jain Series Edited by Hiralal Jain. Vol I. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp 32 + 188 Karanja, Berar, India Karanja Jain Publication Society, 1931

The present work forms the first of a new series of Jain works founded by Seth Gopal Ambadas Chaware of Karanja, Berar, in memory of his father Professor P. L Vaidya, of Fergusson College, Poona, has now edited the *Jasaharacariu*, the life of Yaśodhara, by Pushpadanta. It is a tale in rhymed verse of about 2,300 lines, and of much interest for some aspects of the Jain religion, but also important to the philologist. It is in Western Apabhramśa, the study of which has suffered from lack of texts, but which has been much furthered by Jacobi's work, especially his edition of Dhanapāla's *Bhavisattakahā*, and C. D Dalal's and P. D. Gune's edition of the same work in the Gaekwad's Series. The *Jasaharacarin* is of exactly the same type of literature. Professor Vaidya has confined himself chiefly to giving a critical text, and he has done the work excellently He gives a glossary and notes, but apart from that and the general editor's valuable introduction there is no discussion of the dialect. For this he doubtless has good reasons, as he has

already been studying other works which will throw light on the history of Marathi and other vernaculars, and the high scholarship of the present work is a good omen for his further study of Prakrit and Apabhramśa literature

*432* E. J. THOMAS.

THE SUVARṆAPRABHĀSA SŪTRA. A Mahāyāna Text called "The Golden Splendour" First prepared for publication by the late Professor BUNYIU NANJIO, and after his death revised and edited by HOKEI IDZUMI $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxviii + 222 Kyoto The Eastern Buddhist Society, 1931 £1 2*s*

DEUX LEXIQUES SANSKRIT-CHINOIS *Fan yu tsa ming* de LI YEN et *Fan yu ts'ien tseu wen* de YI-TSING. (Ed by) P C BAGCHI. Tome 1er Sino-indica · Publications de l'Université de Calcutta, Tome 2. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8$, pp 336. Paris P. Geuthner, 1929 Frs 200.

This edition of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra*, which was long ago undertaken by the late Bunyiu Nanjio, has now been completed by Mr Idzumi from six MSS and with comparison of the Chinese and Tibetan versions Apart from the fact that it is the first complete edition of the Sanskrit text, it is the editor's familiarity with the Chinese sources that gives the edition its special value He discusses the various additions that it has received, and gives a useful table of correspondences with the three extant forms in Chinese

It is exactly a century ago that I J. Schmidt gave an analysis of the sūtra as it appears in the Mongolian and Tibetan, and translated several chapters. There is now an edition of the Mongolian text, not noted here, but it is clear that the form known to Schmidt corresponded with the text of I-tsing Mr. Idzumi puts the sūtra late, "at the time when Mahāyāna was about to be finally formulated." It certainly has peculiar features. The usual introductory words of Ānanda are turned into a śloka. The list of auditors is remarkably short, the only personages specified by name

being the four goddesses, Sarasvatī, Śrī, Dṛḍhā, and Harītī. The metaphysical teaching is rather perfunctory, as the chapter entitled *Śūnyatā* consists of verses merely claiming to express summarily what other sūtras have declared at length. There is no clear reference to the *Trikāya*, though a chapter on the subject has been added in the Chinese and Mongolian The teaching about an eternal Buddha, as Mr Idzumi shows, corresponds closely with that of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. But the author of the sūtra seems rather to be interested in the glorification of its merits and in declaring its power of dispelling bad dreams and evil planetary influences Two of the chapters are jātakas, remarkably interesting in their circumstantial details, and one of them is retold in verse.

The state of the text, the editor admits, cannot be said to be satisfactory, and as other scholars are working at it, doubtless further work will soon be seen. The editor promises an index to the present volume and translations in Japanese and English

Dr Bagchi's undertaking helps to show the way in which the Chinese translators went to work. This portion gives the text of the two Chinese lexica in facsimile. The Chinese words with the accompanying Sanskrit have been transliterated by Dr Bagchi, and the obscurities and errors in the Sanskrit discussed and elucidated. This is all that lies before us in the present volume, but it is excellent and illuminating work, and the whole should lead to results of great value

*453, 422* E J. Thomas.

Index to the Annual Reports of the Mysore Archæological Department for the years 1906–22. By Dr M H K Iyengar $11 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, pp 211. Bangalore: Government Press, 1929. Rs. 2.

Annual Report of the Mysore Archæological Department for the year 1929. With the Government Review thereon University of Mysore $11 \times 9$, pp. 2 + viii + 2 + 318, pls 20. Bangalore: Government Press, 1931.

EXCAVATION AT CHANDRAVALLI (MYSORE STATE). Issued as a Supplement to the Annual Report of the Mysore Archæological Department for the year 1929. Archæological Survey of Mysore. 11 × 9, pp. 32, pls. 17. Bangalore: Government Press, 1931.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF HIS EXALTED HIGHNESS THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS. 1337 F., 1927–8 A.C. 13 × 10, pp. x + 56, 20 pl. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1930

INSCRIPTIONS (Texts) OF THE PUDUKKOTTAI STATE Arranged according to Dynasties. 13 × 8, pp. iv + 654 + ii, 1 pl.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PUDUKKOTTAI STATE 13 × 8, pp. iv + 154 + ii

Dr. M. H. Krishna Iyengar, the Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore, announces that a new series of reports begins with this volume. It is the first published under his directorship, and the most important information about archæological research in Mysore is contained in the accompanying Supplement. We learn that Dr Sir Brajendranath Seal, the Vice-Chancellor of the University, wisely decided in 1922 to introduce the most up-to-date methods of research into the Department, and Dr. Krishna Iyengar was sent to study the latest research methods at the University of London and in the excavation camps of Egypt and elsewhere. This Supplement, one-third of which is now published, gives the first results of the scheme of exploration at Chandravaḷḷi in the north of Mysore State. The remains date from neolithic times. The most important inscription (described in the Report) is one of Mayūraśarman of the third century A.D. and, though only of three lines of Prakrit, mentions no less than eight neighbouring peoples. The Report itself includes numismatics, manuscripts, and epigraphy. The inscriptions, more than 100 in number, are recorded in Canarese (most are in this language), and are transliterated and translated. The Director has also brought out a useful Index to the Reports for the years 1906–20, with a supplement for 1921–2.

The report of the archæological work in the Nizam's Dominions is edited by the Director, Mr. G Yazdani. Besides the surveying of a number of villages with Hindu, Jain, and Muslim antiquities, a large number of stone circles are described. Mr L Munn contributes several letters on the antiquities of the Raichur District The Director's paper on the fresco paintings of Ellora, which he gave at the Oriental Congress in Oxford in 1928, is here printed with six beautiful plates.

The first of the two volumes of inscriptions in the Pudukkottai State contains the texts with descriptions in Tamil The inscriptions are mostly in Tamil, but a few in Sanskrit are given in the Grantha character, and one (the treatise on music, given in *Ep. Ind*, xii) in Devanagari. The second volume gives the list of the inscriptions in English, with short descriptions, dates, and dynasties

*249, 439, 440, 487, 513* E. J THOMAS

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THE BOOK OF THE GRADUAL SAYINGS (ANGUTTARA-NIKĀYA), or MORE-NUMBERED SUTTAS Vol I Translated by F L WOODWARD, with an introduction by Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS Translation series, No 22. 9 × 6, pp. xxii + 285. London · Published for the Pali Text Society by the Oxford University Press, 1932

THE MINOR ANTHOLOGIES OF THE PALI CANON. Part I. Dhammapada: Verses on Dhamma and Khuddaka-pātha The text of the Minor Sayings Re-edited and translated by Mrs RHYS DAVIDS Sacred Books of the Buddhists Vol VII. 9 × 6, pp. lxx + 166. London: Humphrey Milford, 1931

Mr. Woodward's translation of the first three nipātas of the *Anguttara* is a worthy continuation of his work on the *Saṃyutta* There is the same clear language, the careful following of the sense, and the valuable notes, which discuss the interpretations offered, and bring forward the evidence

in the Pâli commentary. Mrs. Rhys Davids has an introduction on the translation of important religious and other terms. She rightly protests against the monstrous idea that there ought to be a "classical tradition" in the rendering of such terms. Not only were the early translators groping for the meaning, but the meanings they put in were often dogmas of their own. One of these was the atheism of Buddhism, but here we have another, shall we say dogma, that "the first Sakyan teachers bring God from heaven to dwell in man as man" This is what *attā* implies, "the Divine Man within." The grammarians think that they know what *sa-* as a prefix means. They will be surprised to find that it includes not only *sa-ppañño*, but also such words as *sa-kkāya* and *sa-ddhamma*

Mrs. Rhys Davids' translation of the *Dhammapada* and *Khuddakapāṭha* illustrate still more the revision of technical terms. *Nibbāna* becomes "Waning", and (with its early meaning) equivalent to "bliss". *Brahmacariya* is "God-life", *saddhamma* "their own dhamma", but also "very Dharma". *Tathāgata* is "Man-waygone", but this may be partly due to the fact that the translation is in various kinds of blank verse. In verse you have to say what you can, so it comes about that the present tense *wot* has to be used as a past participle.

But the importance of the edition lies in its undertaking to carry a stage forward the interpretation of these two works The text is given, and it has been dissected on the theory that there have been large interpolations These in accordance with the method of Garbe for the *Gītā* are distinguished by smaller type. It is a more elaborate undertaking than Garbe's, and sixteen grounds are given for the identification of later passages. Such "undesirable growths" extend not merely to whole sections (the whole of the *Buddhavagga* has to go), but down to quarter verses and single words. Perhaps the most surprising result is that the *Metta-sutta*, a poem in *āryā* metre, is made one of the

earliest, indeed it was perhaps taken over by the earlier Sakyans from a brahmin who taught televolition, though the editor would not be surprised to learn that the poem was by a woman

*462, 527* E J. THOMAS

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FATH AL 'ARAB LISH-SHÁM (Conquest of Syria by the Arabs). By G. M. HADDAD $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 113. Ramallah (Palestine) Adabiyah Press, 1931. 2*s.*

Mr Haddad won a history prize at the American University at Beyrout, and has now published an Arabic translation of the successful essay, the Arab conquest of Damascus. As a prize essay it is a very creditable performance for the writer has read the Arabic sources for himself and has studied the works of European orientalists. He knows Caetani only from quotations We hope that this translation will achieve his object, that of encouraging the study of history among his countrymen

*531* A S. T.

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THE DAMASCUS CHRONICLE OF THE CRUSADES Extracted and translated from the chronicle of Ibn al-Qalánisí. H A R Gibb. $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 368 London · Luzac & Co., 1932, 15*s*

Hamza son of Asad was a clerk in the chancellery at Damascus, rose to be head of the department, was also for a time civil head of the city, and wrote a chronicle of his own time, which was that of the first crusade and the early years of the kingdom of Jerusalem That part of his book which tells of the doings of the Franks is here given in English. As later historians used his book, there is not much of importance in it that is quite new, but they omitted many picturesque details and anything they did not understand, so there is plenty of interest in Hamza's full story. Who were the "infidel Turks ?" Were they really not Muslims or only heretics who shocked his orthodox soul ? Who were the gourmands

for whose delectation Núr ud Dín slaughtered horses among other delicacies ? The accounts of the Assassins are striking. They were favoured by great men in Syria, acted independently of their head in Alamut, won over a great following among the common people, and were at one time able to hold Bányás. Retribution fell on them in the shape of a general massacre. Hamza does not know the story that Bohemund of Antioch was captured while on his way to find a bride, nor the other, that a pigeon with a letter from Damascus to Tyre bidding the garrison hold on as help was coming, fell into the camp of the Franks who substituted a letter of the opposite sense and released the bird, so that the town lost heart and surrendered

The introduction is valuable, it shows the disorganized state of Syria at that time, broken up between powers of different sorts, whose hatred of each other was only less, if less, than their hatred of the Franks The importance of the Armenians as states, as soldiers, and as a section of the population is stressed. The paragraphs on the army are new. Each prince had a standing army of slaves or mercenaries, who were mounted archers The biggest in Syria was probably not more than five thousand strong; Shaizar had only a few hundred The officers were expected to keep slave troops of their own, which were enrolled in the state army on their master's death. To maintain these slaves the officers were given grants of land The Turkmen tribes, who joined in the fighting as allies or hirelings, were on the same footing as these household troops. The second line, the *jund*, were a kind of militia and were also mounted. The infantry were of little use in actual fighting. The townsmen were organized in some form of train-bands. Professor Gibb thinks that in the art of war the Franks were the teachers rather than the taught. They brought improved methods of siege warfare, introduced winter campaigns, and the use of more body armour. Their famous charge was feared. The chronicle is seldom verbose, the translator has been very successful in his work, so the

story is quite readable, though it deals with little but the squabbles of minute states. Professor Gibb has taken much trouble in identifying places and persons and in solving textual problems It is unfortunate that there is no map.

There are a number of minor misprints, such as a soft breathing in place of a hard One very common one is that a space is left in the middle of a word where the rough breathing is used for an Arabic consonant. Thus Mas'úd becomes Mas 'úd

The translation "underpinning" for *ta'líq* (p. 123) seems hardly satisfactory. In a wall, built or repaired in haste, wooden beams may well have been used as ties, "headers" a bricklayer would call them If these were burnt the outer face of the wall might easily fall If underpinning is the right word it is not easy to see how the garrison could set fire to that under the outer face of the wall, and also why the besiegers did not do so

*541* A S T.

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Die dogmatischen Lehren der Anhanger des Islam By Al Ash'ari Parts I and II Ed. by H Ritter $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, pp (Pt. I, 37 + 300) (Pt II, 4 + 314). Constantinople · Devlet Matbaası Pt I, 1929, Pt II, 1930. Mks 30

We are told that al Ash'arı was a good debater but a poor writer This book lends colour to the second part of this dictum, for it is badly arranged, almost formless, though far from void It could be cut down by a third without loss. On the other hand, it does not lie under the ban of the tradition that Islam contains seventy sects. It is divided into the following sections Shí'a, Khawárij, Murjia, Mu'tazila, theologians, attributes of God, Koran. The Shí'a is subdivided into extremists, recusants, and Zaidis. The beliefs of the extremists are arranged according to sects, those of the recusants, Zaidis, Khawárij, and Murjia first under sects and then under doctrines, those of the Mu'tazila and

theologians under doctrines, as are also the opinions about the Koran. There are a few appendices on men like Jahm, al Najjár, and Ibn Kulláb There is even more repetition than would be expected from the above summary as men of all shades of opinion are quoted under the heading theologians.

The author did not take a narrow view of his task, for the section on the theologians begins with philosophical problems such as "substance". The author's sense of humour must have failed at times for two consecutive paragraphs are "The legality of making enemy's womenfolk captive", and "The nature of the atom". The book is fine confused feeding. Doctrines are sometimes attached to the name of a teacher, as often as not they are anonymous. It is not uncommon for several different opinions to be given without a hint as to who held them. Occasionally a doctrine is attributed to a man with the caution "but I do not think this can be so". Perhaps a disproportionate space is given to al Jubbái, though this can be explained by the author's respect for his master and father-in-law but it is odd that no mention is made of Abú Háshim. Very little is said of al Jáḥiz also. The book therefore is not a history of Muslim theology, nor an exposition of the schools of thought current at the date of writing, but a jumble of all that had ever been taught in the name of Islam To find the teaching of any one man you must work through the whole book (there is no index), and even then much of his thought may be hidden in anonymity The author keeps himself in the background. Some writers are quoted as sources: Sulaimán b Jarír, Muḥammad b. Shabíb, Zarḳán, Abú 'uthmán al Ádami, al Jáḥiz, and Abú 'Ísá, but for the most part the author gives no authority for his statements. The book is fuller than that of Shahrastáni, but will not displace it even for the early period. The reading of it strengthens the conviction that the theologians' knowledge of philosophy has been exaggerated.

The editor has done his work well. paper and type are good: the matter is well spaced, and misprints are few. One

quotation from the Koran has a wrong reference. The editor had five manuscripts to work on. In addition to variants the notes contain references to relevant passages in other books There is a bibliography of thirty-two oriental works. On p. 96 a longer quotation should have been given from *al Fark* (the words actually quoted are not exact), so that the paragraph would run after filling the lacuna .—

> Friendship and hostility are attributes of God in his essence, he shows friendship to his servants for the faith to which they will attain, though they were unbelievers for the greater part of their lives, and he regards only the unbelief to which they will come at the end of their lives, though they were believers for the major part of their lives.

This is the doctrine of *muwáfát*, that it was a man's state at the end of his life which determined his lot in the hereafter; the Muslims had not advanced beyond Ezekiel On p 68, l 9, something seems to have dropped out, one would expect the passage to run "He counted (someone) of higher rank than 'uthmán" Unfortunately the section dealing with the peculiar doctrine of Ma'mar is corrupt "The wiping of the shoes" is not omitted but one is left with the impression that the questions which busied the Muslims were religious and philosophical and much ingenuity was devoted to solving them

555 A S TRITTON

DIE BABYLONISCHE GEBETSBESCHWORUNG Von WALTER G KUNSTMANN Leipziger Semitistische Studien, Neue Folge, Band II. $9 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, pp. iii + 114 Leipzig. J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1932 Mks 10

The argument of this book of Herr Kunstmann is to examine from the formal and purely literary point of view that kind of conjuratory prayers of Babylonian and Assyrian origin which is easily recognizable by its subscription written in the

Sumerian language *inim-inim-ma šu-il-la-kam*. Those prayers are, as is well known, addressed to different gods, have strong conjuratory character, and are very often accompanied by some action of magical character and purport as well as by a sacrifice. The most ample edition of such kind of prayers has been made by L W King under the title *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery, being "The Prayers of the Lifting of the Hand"*, London, 1896.

After some general considerations on such prayers the author goes on to examine their content. He divides it into three principal parts, which are the allocution, the prayer proper, and the thanksgiving. In the third chapter Herr Kunstmann tries to define the *inim-inim-ma šu-ila* from other cognate kinds of prayers, as are, for instance, the Sumerian *šu-ila*, the lamentation called *šigû*, the prayer *ikribu*, the *dingir-šag-dibba* and the *ki-Utu-kam*

The fourth chapter is dedicated to the different series and sequences of *šu-ila*, general as well as special.

In the last chapter the author gives us three lists . of the *šu-ila*, according to the gods invoked, according to the stars, and according to other deities which, in reality, are different cultural objects, as the fire, the grain, the light, the salt, etc.

The analysis by the author in the second chapter illumines and throws light on all the different aspects of this interesting kind of prayers Herr Kunstmann quotes always extensively every element of the prayer examined, gives a German translation of it, and quotes all the passages in which it occurs. The allocution consists in most cases of the invocation of the god together with its honorific titles, great in number and of different natures. At p. 12 the author remarks rightly that the many praises raised by the orant to his god were not mere compliments made by the Babylonian to divinity, but a genuine expression of his confidence and trust. The author is no doubt right . the Babylonian was absolutely sure that the gods had all those qualities which he attributed to them in his prayers and hymns, and therefore we cannot say that his

only purpose was to make compliments to his god to obtain more easily the favours required. The praises to the god comprise his ability to solve from sin, they refer to the gracious look of the god, to the help which he can tender, to the creation by him of mankind, to his quality of a father, respectively of a mother, to the protection he concedes to mankind in distress Herr Kunstmann analyses attentively also the prayer itself, which is the nucleus of the *šu-ila*, and is often introduced by some lamentation referring to the estrangement of the god or comprises penitential formulæ or simple laments of various nature on maladies and diseases, persecutions from the demons, etc A kind of lamentation very common is that referring to the eclipse, *attalū*, of the moon, which brings in its trail all kinds of evil. The prayer proper is preceded by some introductory phrases, and with it the orant asks his god to accept in general his prayer or wants from him good luck or the reconciliation of the angry deity or of his own god which protects him or to stop the evil or to free him from his sins. The Babylonians did not like to allude directly and crudely to requirements of material character The prayers end as a rule with some formulæ of thanksgiving or benediction

The analysis of Herr Kunstmann is accurate, penetrating in the literary investigation of the often complicated prayers *šu-ila*, and his book is precious also owing to the pages dedicated to the series of the prayers and the lists classified according to the divinities to which they are directed.

*532* GIUSEPPE FURLANI.

INDIA AND JAMBU ISLAND By AMARNATH DAS. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$. pp vii + 343, 1 ill, 7 maps. Calcutta · The Book Company, Ltd, 1931. Rs 12 8

In a short introduction the writer of this work describes as his object the tracing, as far as possible, of the remarkable changes that have taken place in the configuration of India during the course of the last twenty centuries

The main contentions of the author of this very remarkable book are that the Taprobane Island of Ptolemy was not Ceylon, but an island co-extensive with a large part of southern India, and that the Mahābhārata incidents occurred in Upper Burma, where he locates Indraprastha. It also seems that the scene of the Rāmāyana is to be sought in western Siam.

In the early centuries of the Christian era Poona is alleged to have been a seaport, the traditional Hippokoura It is not explained how the presence of the sea level near Poona affected the low-lying portions of India, though we are seriously asked to accept the theory that the summits of the Western Ghats were islands in historical times It does not seem to have occurred to the writer of this work that many statements made by ancient geographers on the basis of information furnished to them by travellers were highly inaccurate, and that the coastline which he designs, from this evidence, for the island of Taprobane would submerge most of India below 1,500 feet of water

Much labour has been devoted to the preparation of this work, but the results cannot fairly be held to justify the effort

*516* R E E.

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THE ELEPHANT LORE OF THE HINDUS The Elephant Sport (Mātānga Līla) of Nīlakantha, translated from the original Sanskrit, with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by FRANKLIN EDGERTON. $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp xix + 129. New Haven · Yale University Press, London Oxford University Press, 1931. 9*s*

In this little book the writer offers a translation of the *Mātānga-Līla* of Nīlakantha, with a preface and some introductory reflections upon elephant lore in India. As the writer remarks, it would have been strange if the Hindus had failed to deal in their literature with a beast which has always played such a prominent part in the lives of their rulers.

The Aryan invaders, brought face to face with a novel

animal using a trunk as a hand, found for it the name of the *mrga-hastin*, the beast with a hand. Nilakantha, in the *Mātānga-Lila*, pursues the subject in greater detail. We are instructed about their origin, favourable and unfavourable marks, the stages of life, measurements, price, the strange affection known as *must*, and the way in which elephants can be caught and driven With the Hindu genius for refinement in classification, elephants are divided into four castes with colours recalling the Brahman, Kshattriya, Vaishya, and Shudra, and twelve classes, according to age For each of the first five decades a special name is provided

In his introductory note the author fairly evaluates the substance of this interesting Sanskrit work, and draws on well-known works (e g Sanderson's) for further information about these magnificent quadrupeds Among Sanskrit works the best known is the *Hastyayurveda*, a lengthy treatise dealing mainly, as the title suggests, with the medicinal treatment of elephantine ailments

To Sanskritists the author's glossary will be of special interest We find *āsana* given as the equivalent of withers. The word is, of course, in common use for a seat, especially the special seat prepared for the image of the gods at the time of worship (e g *padmāsana*), and would very naturally designate the place where the *mahaut* sits

We are grateful to the author for the care he has devoted to this little-known study

*448* R. E. E

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A HISTORY OF THE MARATHA PEOPLE By C A KINCAID and D. B PARASNIS $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp xi + 503, 17 ills., 3 maps. London · Oxford University Press, 1931. 16*s*.

This new edition of a work that originally appeared in three volumes published in 1918, 1922, and 1925, respectively, will be well received by students of Marātha history. Interest in the rise and fall of Marātha power in western India has been stimulated in recent years by the publication of

Jadunath Sarkar's *Shivaji and his Times*, the late S. M. Edwardes' revised edition of Grant Duff's well-known volume, and latterly by Mr Govind Sardesai's selections from the vernacular records at Poona, known as the Peshwa's Daftar.

It may be remarked, at the outset, that there are certain omissions in this work, which is dedicated to the Marātha people We are told very little about the Marāthas themselves, though recent research has thrown much light on the origin of the great Marātha families The essential identity of Marāthas with Marātha Kunbis and Dhangars has recently been established. Marātha historians have shown much ingenuity in obscuring the true facts, and more critical writers wholly distrust the tradition of the Bhosle family's Rajput origin, which seems to be accepted by the authors of the present work

Jadunath Sarkar, in his history of Shivaji, when faced with the conflicting versions of English, Persian, and Marāthi records, is disposed to discount very greatly the element of truth in many of the Marāthi *Shakavalis*, such as the *Shivadigvijaya*. There have been two versions of the murder of Afzal Khan, not equally favourable to the Marātha hero, and we are faced with accounts of the first sack of Surat which cannot both be accurate Thus we read, p 66, referring to the events of 10th January, 1664, that Shivaji, "after he had gathered property worth several thousand pounds . . . vanished as swiftly as he had appeared" Sarkar, p. 99, dealing with the same events, relates that the plunder of Surat yielded above a *Kror* of rupees, "the city not having been as rich as then in many years before." The looting was unresisted, and extended over four days and nights, and he (Shivaji) scorned to carry away anything but gold, silver, pearls, diamonds, and such precious ware.

The account given on p. 66, moreover, is curiously silent regarding the cruel methods adopted to extort money from the unfortunate inhabitants of the city; whereas Sarkar writes, on the authority of an English chaplain's statements

that Shivaji's "desire of money is so great that he spares no barbarous cruelty . . at least cuts off one hand, sometimes both".

Grant Duff gives a similar account of this affair, taken from reliable English sources

In a further edition we should welcome a plan of the Deccan and Konkan, showing the natural fortresses that played so large a part in the warfare of these times. The two maps given on pp 67, 143, are somewhat inadequate from this point of view. The legend quoted on p 407 of King Raghu and the *Shami* tree (not the *Mimosa suma* as stated in the footnote, but the well-known *Prosopis spicigera*) might also be amplified by a reference to the important part that this tree plays in Marātha social organization It is clear, from the highly eulogistic account of Shivaji's character given on pp 113–14, that the joint authors have drawn their inspiration largely from well-known Hindu panegyrics of the sturdy Marātha hero, and rejected the less favourable European and Muslim versions Enthusiasm, however, if apt to lead compilers of history astray, is a useful stimulant for writers who would reproduce the past We may be grateful to Mr Kincaid for much valuable literature bearing on the great Hindu revival in the Deccan Those who have seen the rocky slopes of Bhimshankar Hill a swarming mass of stalwart Marātha pilgrims, and heard the hillsides resound to the cries of "Gyanoba-Tukarām" on the occasion of the great festival of *Mahāshivarātri* can appreciate the genuine feeling which lies behind this writer's numerous works on these sturdy peasants, their tales, their history, and the sacred shrines in the Deccan round which their legends cluster. In a brief introduction a suitable tribute is paid to the late D. B. Parasnis, co-author of the history, a genial and enthusiastic scholar, whose recent death came as a blow to those acquainted with his valuable collection at "Happy Vale" Satara, and with the learned owner who rejoiced in displaying it to any interested visitor.

R. E. E.

THE HISTORY AND STATUS OF LANDLORDS AND TENANTS IN THE UNITED PROVINCES (INDIA) By S. N. A. JAFRI. With a foreword by SIR R OAKDEN $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$, pp xv + 438, 1 map. Allahabad Pioneer Press, 1931. Rs. 7-8.

It is impossible to discuss Mr. Jafri's book adequately in these pages, because the greater part of it deals with the present conditions and possible amelioration of rural life, and now that the peasant is "in politics" and likely to remain so, the whole subject falls outside the scope of this JOURNAL It must suffice to say that Mr Jafri writes with knowledge and insight on these topics, and the book contains some first-hand matter of interest to the rural economist The historical portion is unequal. The short chapter devoted to the Hindu period is necessarily sketchy and gives nothing new The Moslem period is treated more fully, but this chapter shows ignorance of much that has been written in recent years; to take only a single instance, the statement (p 56) that under Sher Shāh "one-fourth of the expected produce was assessed as the Government revenue" ignores the examination of that question in this JOURNAL for July, 1926 The chapters dealing with the nineteenth century are much better, and form a useful introduction to the main portion of the work In technique the book leaves much to be desired There is no index, misprints are frequent, the transliteration in the very full glossary is not precise, the titles in the bibliography are not always correctly given, while the departures from strict alphabetical arrangement in both glossary and bibliography are very inconvenient to the reader. (Since this review was written, an errata list covering nine pages has been received from the author.)

*529.* W. H. M.

EGYPTO-SEMITIC STUDIES. By AARON EMBER. Aus den Überresten des Originalmanuskripts hergestellt und nach älteren Arbeiten des Verfassers ergänzt von Frida Behnk, mit einem Vorwort von Kurt Sethe. Leipzig: The Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation, 1930 Mk. 10

Aaron Ember lost his life in 1926 in saving from his burning house the manuscript of a work on the relation of Ancient Egyptian to the Semitic languages. Of the comprehensive work which he had in prospect the rescued manuscript, damaged and incomplete, was found to deal with only one section, and that a section—unfortunately, perhaps—which had already been largely covered by his earlier publications and those of his pupil Albright, for it treats of the establishment of equations between Egyptian and Semitic words Fraulein Behnk, to whom the publication of the manuscript was entrusted, has adopted the plan of filling in its lacunæ from Ember's and Albright's previous works on the same subject Thus the book forms as it were an index to the identifications of Egyptian and Semitic roots which have been made, without, however, giving the justification for them, which must be sought in the fuller works to which reference is in each case made To the old identifications are added a large number of new ones, not covering, however, the Egyptian letters from *n* to *z*, the section dealing with which had disappeared

The service rendered to Egyptian philology by Ember is a very great and a very real one Erman and Sethe long ago pointed out the Semitic elements in Egyptian grammar and syntax, and were roundly abused for doing so by some of the more superficial philologists Yet they were right, and nothing has done more to prove this than Ember's researches on the lexicographical side The establishment of phonetic equations between the words of one language and those of another looks an easy game at which the fool is only too ready to play, all unwitting of the fact that there are rules which must be adhered to if disaster is to be avoided. It is to

Ember's credit that he seldom went outside the rules. He rightly saw, for instance, that his examples must be drawn as far as possible from Early Egyptian, and that everything after the XVIIIth Dynasty, when fresh Semitic loanwords began to appear in Egyptian, must be ruled out.

Some of the chief rules are of a very peculiar kind, for they are themselves arrived at by induction from examples, and then used to establish further examples by deduction. Thus a number of equations between words of the same meaning suggests that Egyptian ꜣ (the glottal stop) represents Semitic *r* or *l* as well as Semitic *aleph* This is a direct induction from the material—if we leave out of account some slight confirmation which it receives from the fact that ꜣ and *r* (the latter standing perhaps in some cases for *l*) once or twice alternate in the same word in Early Egyptian Once this induction has been made it gives the searcher a remarkable freedom in looking for new equations, for Egyptian ꜣ can be equated with either ꜣ, *r*, or *l* in Semitic. The dangers of this in unskilled hands are obvious.

Metathesis is an established fact of phonetics, but one which makes the discovery of equations fatally easy, for any root in Egyptian may be identified with any root of similar meaning in Semitic which contains the same three consonants, whatever the order in which these occur.

Even meaning is a dangerous guide, for, on Ember's own theory, Egyptian broke off from the Semitic stem thousands of years before the beginning of history, and consequently considerable changes of meaning are to be expected, so that we cannot here demand the same measure of semasiological correspondence between the words compared as in the case of two more recently separated languages.

Yet among these pitfalls Ember moved with commendable caution. Many of his equations must remain the merest guesses—he himself was the first to admit this. Some are definitely unconvincing Such, for example, are *ṯꜣt* (more correctly *ṯꜣty*) "vizier" = Arabic *wakīl*; *ʿmy* "know"

(in reality "swallow") = Arabic *'alima* "know"; *'ḥ'* "stand" = Arabic *rahala* "depart, journey, ride"; *irtt* "milk" = Arabic *laka'a* "strike the breast of a mother in milking or sucking", *ifdw* "four" = Arabic *arba'a* Yet when all that is doubtful is cast out there still remains a mass imposing enough to show that Egyptian has very strong Semitic affinities

Like all enthusiasts Ember probably went too far. It cannot be regarded as demonstrated that "85 per cent of the words in Old Egyptian are Semitic". What is more, the study of the African languages may show that he has underrated the part played by these in the formation of Egyptian

Meanwhile a rather disconcerting thought cannot be held in check Is there much more that is worth doing in this field which Ember made his own? Has he not practically exhausted it? Doubtless more equations will be set up, but these are likely to become less and less convincing, for the obvious ones, those which carry conviction with them, have already been made That Ember himself had he lived would have continued to pour out valuable work on his subject is certain, but we may hazard the guess that it would have been on the African rather than on the Semitic side

*429* T. ERIC PEET.

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THE PAKKHTO IDIOM A DICTIONARY By Major GEORGE WATERS GILBERTSON, assisted by ÁRIF ULLAH, Yúsufzai, MAKHMÚD, Afrídí, and ALÍ AKBAR KHÁN, Qandahárī. Vol I, A–L Published by the Author. Hertford: printed by Stephen Austin and Sons, Ltd, 1932. Two vols £4 4*s*

This is the latest of a series of books published by the author in which he has made solid contributions to our knowledge of Pashtu (Pakkhto) and Balochi, and which are calculated to smooth the path of the student of those languages. His aims are essentially practical, and it is the interests of the learner that he has primarily had in view

The scheme of the present work, of which this is the first half, is to give a series of Pashtu sentences rendered freely into idiomatic English and arranged according to the alphabetic order of the English key-words. The Pashtu is given first in the Arabic script and then in a form of transliteration, and the idiomatic English rendering is followed by a word for word translation This does not result in an English-Pashtu Dictionary, for naturally many common English words are quite inadequately dealt with, whilst others are to be found in sentences occurring under other key-words The literal word for "Ambush" is thus found not under "ambush" but under "come out" "Bucket" is to be found under "down" "Been" occurs as a key-word, followed by the solitary sentence: "How long have you been in his service?"

The incompleteness of the work as a dictionary is recognized by the author, who says in his preface. "Comfort yourself; in the new *English-Pakkhto Conversational Dictionary* you will find all that you require, انشاالله *insha'allah* It will be available shortly." With regard to the present work, he says that it is "chiefly intended for those who have already made some progress in the language It is simple enough, however, to be used by the beginner The better to effect this double object literal renderings of most of the sentences have been given within brackets" He then recommends that the sentences should be studied but not memorized, and that their material should be used for improvising other sentences. To encourage this practice he gives an alternative English sentence under each heading, but it is questionable whether this adds to the merit of the work

The book is therefore intended to be read through and studied in detail, and there are very few persons, I imagine, who would not benefit by such a course, for the sentences, as far as I am a judge, present excellent, straightforward, idiomatic Pashtu, free from the sophistication of borrowed and unnaturalized Persian. But the task would demand both energy and determination, for in this first volume alone

there are close on 4,000 sentences Short of this, however, even the experienced expert by merely turning over the pages, is likely to harvest new ideas and expressions, and revive many half-forgotten memories. The book is full of meat

No book of this nature can be expected to satisfy every one in every detail. I shall raise a few points, if only to show how slight in this case are the grounds for serious criticism.

s v. "Afghanistan", should *da bar watan* "from the upper country", i e Afghanistan, not have *watana* or *waṭan nah*? In the Khaibar the phrase is cut down to *da bara* contrasted with *da kkshē a* "from the inside", i e "from the side of India"

s v "Bee", *wrukai* "small" The vowel is usually long *wrūkai, wurūkai*, but Afridi *wurkai* "child"

s v "Burglary", would *parúna'í shpa* not mean "the night before last" rather than "last night"? The night belongs to the day which follows it, the point of division between days being sunset

s v "Centre", *ghaṭ mandz* "the exact centre" *Ghat* = "big" In my recollection the expression in the Khaibar was *ghut* (or *ghwut*) *mandz* (*myanz*) and this is paralleled by Waziri Pashtu *ghwut manz* "exact centre" given by J G. Lorimer But in some of its meanings Waz Pšt *ghwut* corresponds to *ghat*

s v "Erstwhile" *lá pakhwá* I do not know the Pashtu expression (and am not very familiar with the English one) *Pakhwā* alone means "formerly", *lā pakhwā* one would expect to mean something like "in still earlier days".

s v "Favour" The Pashtu sentence seems to require a negative.

Pronunciation varies with locality, so that dogmatism is out of court, but I have never myself heard *núr* (s v "Fat") for *nōr* "other, more". "For a whole hour" *púrah yawe ginṭe*. This recent borrowing of Hindustani *ghanṭā* (it is not known to Raverty or Bellew) I have heard as *ganṭa* and *gēnṭa*.

***Shwalé*** (p. 186), ***kawam*** (p. 187) I should give as ***shwulé*** and ***kawum***. ***W*** usually affects the quality of a following ***a***, but this would not be noted in the vernacular script.

*Tswayama* (p 150) I have heard as *tsōyama*. Here again the Arabic script would not help.

It would be easy to raise more questions like the above, but enough has been done to show that such defects as exist are trivial

In matters of idiom one may always go on learning, even when the language is one's own I never thought of saying "I will beat you to a mummy" when I proposed to give some inoffensive person a hammering, nor did I ever tell a clerk or assistant that he was "a very Hector at accounts", but I shall certainly not miss an opportunity of using these idioms in future The Pashtu equivalents unfortunately are quite commonplace.

In championing the Arabic script as "*entirely suitable* for the writing of the Kurdish, Balochi, and Pakkhto languages", the author surely uses a false argument to support a perfectly good cause Whoever sets out to learn a language should certainly learn the script in which it is written by those who speak it and know how to write, and in which any literature it possesses has been written Whether the script is, or is not, an efficient one does not enter into the question That the Arabic script is not wholly satisfactory for Pashtu is surely admitted by the author when he supports each of his sentences by a version in transliteration If he does not admit this, let him take a list of words in any language with which he is imperfectly acquainted, written down in unpointed Arabic script, and try to decide how they are to be pronounced. Let the vowel points be added, and if he is unacquainted with the vowel system of the language he will still be unable to pronounce them at all correctly.

The second volume of this Dictionary has now appeared and has been received

*515.* D. L. R. LORIMER.

**Tell Sifr.** Textes cunéiformes conservés au British Museum. Réédités par Charles F. Jean. 11¼ × 7¾, pp. 24, pls 198 Paris Paul Geuthner, 1931. Frs. 300

Fifty years ago Pater Strassmaier published a collection of 109 tablets of the old Babylonian period, which through some error he believed came from Warka, though they were actually found at Tall Sifr, the ancient Kutalla, by Sir Kenneth Loftus. When he copied them, the script and the language of the tablets were new and strange to the still young science of Assyriology. Some ten years later the position was very different, the material available was then ten-fold greater, and Professor Meissner was able to select some 111 texts, including some from Tall Sifr, clearly written and complete, from the thousand, from various sites, placed at his disposal. Even so it has long been evident that the text of the tablets from Tall Sifr needed emendation in many places, and conjectures have been rife Professor Jean, however, has been the first to undertake the task of a thorough and scientific study of the original texts, and has thereby done honour to the precepts and practice of Strassmaier, who believed that Assyriology must depend on the publication and constant revision of texts, and that conjecture without autopsy was an evil—a self-evident truth too often neglected

The corrections which Professor Jean has been able to make are important and interesting in detail, but nowhere affect the general sense of these business documents. The advance of Sumerian studies in particular has enabled him to read correctly passages where Strassmaier was, from the nature of the circumstances, at fault, and also some slips due to tiredness in the earlier work

The texts are introduced by a catalogue in which the new readings are for the most part carefully noted. Among the omissions in these is an important name, in No. 31, l. 7, where Ungnad read *Ubaatum* from Strassmaier; Jean has *Ubaia*, which can only mean "the man of Opis" (not of *Ube*, in Syria), which seems a sound reason for believing that Tall

'Umar, the site of Seleucia, was already known as Opis and not as Akshak, in the time of Rim-Sin and Hammurabi. There is also a table enabling the reader to find the texts in Strassmaier's publication The only complaint of the reviewer might be that further comparative tables would have saved labour in turning up the texts in such well-known editions as Ungnad's *Hammurabi's Gesetz* iii, and Schorr's *Urkunden*, and that is inspired by laziness

*503* S S

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MUHAMMADAN LAW. An Abridgement according to its various schools By SEYMOUR VESEY-FITZGERALD. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xvi + 252 London Oxford University Press; Humphrey Milford, 1931 15*s*

This is a practical treatise dealing with the *shar'* according to the various schools and intended primarily for the purely legal part of a course of instruction on the law, history, and institutions of Islam for probationers entering the Civil Service of the tropical African dependencies. Except for one very obvious defect the author has on the whole succeeded in his purpose, for the work gives in a very small compass the salient features of Muhammadan personal law, including not only that of the orthodox *madhhabs* (with the exception of the Ḥanbalīs), but also of Shī'ites, Ibāḍīs, and other minorities living in most of the lands of Islam under British rule, Cyprus and East Africa being included as well as India The book will be especially valuable as a work of ready reference, for the main points are well and adequately stated; there is an index of modern judicial decisions, and also a useful bibliography chiefly of the translations of original authorities.

In his brief and generally excellent historical introductions to the various sections of his book the author has occasionally made a statement which he might find it difficult to prove, such as that "in the Days of the Ignorance free women were in law chattels" (p. 34), and that "the word *mahr* was borrowed from the Hebrew" (p. 63). As to the first point, which is

coupled with the statement that there is a marked improvement in the status of womanhood under Islam, it must be observed that there is much evidence to show that women had great freedom in the *Jāhiliya*, being able to dispose of their own property and even to choose their own husbands On the other hand, Ghazālī expressly gave it as his opinion that marriage in Islam is a form of *riqq* or bondage. Moreover, local custom has very largely remained unaffected by the *shar'*, so that in the important question of inheritance by daughters the Muḥammadan law is seldom followed Indeed, in most of Muslim India, in Palestine, and Africa generally it is rarely that daughters are not disinherited, so that when the author declares that they, with widows and fathers, "can never fail to partake in the inheritance" he is speaking of an idealized and non-existent community in which the *shar'* is carried out to the letter Actually the *shar'* never completely rules the life of the Muslim. It is probably true that as the converts from a primitive civilization advance in the scale, the *shar'* exerts an increasing influence, but local custom remains strong and sometimes scepticism enters, with the result, as in Turkey, of a complete secularization of the law

The great defect of the work, and one which must to some extent militate against its success as a text-book for students, is the author's failure to cope with the transliteration of the numerous and indispensable Arabic technical terms. Thus the word which, by the system of the Royal Asiatic Society, would be transcribed as *'iwad*, is written *ewaz* on p. 173 and *ewad* on pp 201 ff On one page (173) are to be found *waqf alal aulad*, *mard-ul-maut*, and *hiba bi'ewaz*, with *talaq ul mariz* a few pages further on (p. 179) Definitely wrong are *sadd u'l bab u'l ijtihad* on p 8, *ijr mithl* on p 242, and *mauṣi* ("a testator") on p 243 These latter occur in the glossary, which usually gives an adequate transliteration of the words used, though it is not free from erroneous renderings The use of an Arabic dictionary would have prevented an entry such as the following (p 245): "Wālī (wa'l a refuge), a person of

refuge, so a governor (cf. the Mughal title 'alam panāh (Persian) refuge of the world." There are other mistakes in the bibliography. Thus a well-known work is (p. 234) called *Multaqa al Abhūr.* This should be corrected.

Apart from such blemishes as these, the work is worthy of recommendation

*470* R. L.

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THE KHĀTIMA (SUPPLEMENT) OF THE MIRĀT-I AHMADĪ BY KHĀN ṢĀHIB 'ALĪ MUHAMMAD KHĀN BAHADUR Edited by SYED NAWAB ALI, M A (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No 50) $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. IV + 254. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1930

The present work contains the Persian text of the topographical and biographical supplement to the *Mirāt-i Aḥmadī* (completed in A H 1176), and is concerned with the province of Gujrat during the Mughal period Much of the work deals with the territorial divisions of the province, but there is a great deal, such as, for example, the accounts of the chief Ṣūfīs of the period, which will have a wider appeal. There is also a description of the Bohra community together with a history of their conversion to Islam which will be found not only interesting but even important in connection with the subject

The editor has done his work well, though his habit of joining words which have separate entities is likely to arouse prejudice in the minds of readers accustomed to the native Persian method of orthography There are to be found also occasional lapses in spelling and misprint, e g. p 129, l. 7, *ab$^{an}$ jan jadd$^{an}$* for *ab$^{an}$ 'an jadd*, and p 129, l 4 from below, *tudhūrāt* for *nudhūrāt*.

*438* R. L.

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PALLAVA GENEALOGY. An attempt to unify the Pallava Pedigrees of the Inscriptions. By Rev. H. Heras, S.J. No. 7 of "Studies in Indian History" of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St Xavier's College, Bombay 13½ × 10¾, pp 27, charts 3 Indian Historical Research Institute, 1931. Rs. 4

This careful study of Pallava genealogy brings together, in tabular form, all the available material (no less than forty-five inscriptions), and arrives at some interesting conclusions The author maintains that there was one unbroken line of Pallava kings, twenty-four in number, and says that it is "totally improper" to divide the Pallava pedigree into at least three portions in the manner common among South Indian historians. Identifying Bappa with Kalabhartri ("the head jewel of the family"), he makes him the founder of the dynasty, detecting in the references to him in the Hīrahadagalli and Uruvapalli plates "the flavour of antiquity and veneration which always surround the memory of the founder of a dynasty" He believes that the Pallavas originally ruled at some city of the Telugu country, possibly at Daśanapura, which the Darsi plates state was the *adhisthāna* or residence of the kings.

The capture (as recorded in the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates) of Kānchīpura (Conjeevaram) from the Chōlas did not take place till the reign of the fifth king of the line, Kumāravishṇu I, and thereafter figures in the inscriptions as the capital of the Pallavas Two important changes in the inscriptions signalize the event. (1) the assumption of the title of Mahārājādhirāja by the ruling king, and (2) the use of Sanskrit instead of Prakrit as the official language, Kumāravishṇu I having been the last king to use Prakrit in his documents. Kānchīpura having been one of the "seven cities of Sanskrit lore", it was but natural that Prakrit should not have given place to Sanskrit as the official language

The Pallavas ruled at Kānchīpura till they were driven out by the Chōlas somewhere about the middle of the fourth century, following the invasion of South India by Samudra

Gupta about that time. The Pallava king at the time was the great Vishṇugōpa, the tenth king of the line. The Chōlas held Kānchīpura from the middle of the fourth to the middle of the sixth century, when the Pallavas retook the city. Who was its captor this time the inscriptions do not explicitly state, but from the fact that the Kaśakudi plates state that Simhavishṇu, "the lion of the earth," vanquished the Chōlas, it is believed that it was he who captured the city. He is given as the fourteenth king of the line. Till the ninth century the Pallavas continued to rule at Kānchīpura, the last king having been Vijaya-Nṛipatungavarman. The reason why it has always been stated that there were many branches of the Pallava family ruling at the same time in different places of the Tamil and perhaps also of the Telugu country is that the Prakrit and Sanskrit inscriptions have been thought to refer to two different lines of kings.

Fr. Heras has endeavoured to show: (1) that the multiplicity of names by which some of the kings were known need not deter one from the study of Pallava genealogy, and (2) that some of the so-called rulers, though enjoying the title of Mahārāja, were not kings, but relatives of the ruling king who were permitted to style themselves as Mahārāja. The fifteenth king of the dynasty, Mahēndravarman I, Fr. Heras shows, had no less than eight different names; but sometimes this was because the king wished to show from his name that he was tolerant of all forms of religion, and so would assume a Śaiva, a Vaishnava, and a Buddhist name, as in the two names Kumāravishṇu and Sivaskāndavarman of the fifth king.

Altogether a valuable piece of work ably executed

*466.* M. S. H. T.

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*To the Editor JRAS.*

SIR,—In my review of *Buddhistic Studies*, *JRAS.*, July, 1932, p. 704, I wrote "no mention" when I should have written "no discussion"—namely of Windisch's *Māra and Buddha*. My apologies both to Dr. Law and yourself.—

Yours faithfully, C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

## NOTES OF THE QUARTER

### Excavations at Erech

On 14th April, 1932, a lecture, illustrated by lantern slides, was delivered before the Society by Mr. Sidney Smith, Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the British Museum.

The lecturer said that the city of Erech was famous in antiquity as the city of Gilgamesh, the tyrant who turned hero, subdued demons, and after long search across western seas won the plant that makes old men young again only to lose it According to tradition, he was the fifth king of the First Dynasty of Erech, and all his predecessors were god-heroes like himself. The undoubted antiquity of the site and its continued importance down to the Hellenistic period, not only as the capital of powerful ruling dynasties but as the centre of trade and the intellectual life of southern Babylonia, gives the place an attraction much lessened by its natural surroundings and the local tribes The Englishman, Sir W. K. Loftus, alone had done any considerable work at the site until the expedition of the Deutsche Orient Gesellschaft started work there under the direction of Dr. Julius Jordan about 1912 and uncovered the remains of the Hellenistic temple of Anu, the sky-god, and his consort, Antum. Since the winter of 1928 the expedition under the same leadership has worked at the site of the Eanna temple of the famous local Ishtar, and the important finds of very early buildings have been largely due to what at first seemed a most unfortunate circumstance, owing to the action of water the later buildings on one side of the temple tower had been completely washed away, so that immediately below the surface buildings of the archaic Sumerian period were found. In four strata below these were building remains marked by the presence of a red polished ware, and in the upper two of a polychrome pottery

like that found at Jamdat Nasr and Ur. Below these again were the foundations of buildings of considerable extent in huge limestone blocks and in a species of cement brick. Pursuing the excavation to a very great depth the excavators found, as they were convinced they ought to find, remains of a yet earlier settlement, marked by the use of monochrome pottery with geometrical decoration in a lustrous black paint of the type now called "al-'Ubaid" ware. In the stratum above the stone foundations, clay tablets with pictographic signs, which probably are the earliest yet known, and seal impressions of the Sumerian type, are good evidence that this people were already the dominant inhabitants of the place in the age of red-polished pottery. The combined evidence from Erech, Ur and the Kish area has established a long sequence of civilizations prior to the archaic period, which excavators in 'Iraq have agreed to call (1) the al-'Ubaid ware period, (2) the Erech ware period, (3) the Jamdat Nasr ware period

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## Points from a New Collection of Oriental Manuscripts

On Thursday, 9th June, Dr A. Mingana, of Birmingham, read a paper before the Royal Asiatic Society at 74 Grosvenor Street, W 1, upon the items of interest which he had gathered from a large number of Syriac, Garshūni, Arabic, Ethiopic, Persian, and Turkish manuscripts, which he had been able to collect in the near East owing to the beneficence of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Cadbury.

Since the War so many of the villages, churches, and monasteries in the old Turkish territory and in North Persia have been destroyed, the Syrian communities have been decimated or scattered with the result that, in the lecturer's opinion, the possibility of obtaining similar manuscripts in the future has been stopped and nothing will ever revive it. For instance, the monastery of St. James the Recluse in Seert, containing priceless manuscripts of the fifth, sixth, and

seventh centuries A D., has been totally destroyed by fire with all its contents

The number of Syriac MSS. collected and with which the lecturer exclusively dealt, is about six hundred, and some of them date back to the sixth century, though the majority belong to periods later than the twelfth

The *Book of Centuries* of Elijah of Anbar contains some of the oldest texts in existence It embodies the four uncanonical Psalms lately published by Professor Dr. Noth.

The *Grammar of John bar Zu'bi*, possibly the best classical grammar in existence, if not an autograph volume is at least contemporary with the author

The collection contains many precious autographs, amongst them that of the famous Maphrian Basil Yalda who went to India in 1684 and died there in the following year

The *Harklean Passion Harmony*, hitherto ascribed to Tatian of the second century, is mentioned in the colophon of MS. No 105 as having been composed by a monk called Daniel, who lived at the end of the seventh century near Ḥarrān.

The Colophon of MS No 540 states that the Gospel of St John was composed in Bithynia by a John the Younger who may or may not be John the son of Zebedee, to whom the authorship of the fourth Gospel is ascribed

In MS No 63 the authorship of the Book of Wisdom is ascribed, not to Solomon, but to a man named Joel.

MS No 275 contains the commentary of Cyril of Alexandria on Leviticus

MS No 553 contains the complete repertory of the East Syrian exegesis on the Pentateuch.

Some give us a rather imperfect but accurate glimpse of the Arabic language spoken in north-east Arabia and the Syrian Desert before the appearance of Islam

Others are attributed to Gamaliel and Nicodemus The first of these is a strange apochryphon in which the story of the trial and Crucifixion of Christ is given in a totally different form from that found in the Gospels. Pilate is

shown in the light of a great saint and martyr who is finally crucified in the very spot where Christ had been crucified and buried in the very tomb in which Christ had been buried. The second gives a strange story of the Resurrection with the purpose, apparently, of removing all doubts of the miraculous happenings connected with it. Roman soldiers, Jewish priests, early Christian believers and Pilate himself appear in a succession of scenes of the most romantic kind. A pronounced anti-Judaic tone is the keynote of all these apochrypha, which are undoubtedly of Coptic origin.

MSS Nos 22 and 183 contain a curious life of John the Baptist, of which the details are similar to those contained in a Coptic palimpsest in the Library of the Royal Palace of Naples

MSS Nos 4 and 47 give not only the correspondence between Herod and Pilate which is already known, but also the much less known correspondence between Publius, Governor of Judea, and the Senate of Rome concerning Jesus of Nazareth and the letter of Pilate to the Emperor Claudius on the same subject. Also an interesting exchange of letters between Pilate and an otherwise unknown friend named Theodore.

The so-called "Acta of Jesus" are found in MS. No. 4 and throw an interesting light on the mentality of the Christian communities of the third (or possibly even the second) century A.D.

MS. No 481 gives an extract from Archaeus, disciple of the Apostles and bishop of Lepatia or Leptitana in N Africa, the Labdah of the Arabs. This is the only known extract from this Father, who flourished towards the middle of the second century.

The *Book of the Genealogies* of the Persian Christian scholar Moses Karkhāya (Karkha of Firūz) has two quotations from Africanus.

MS. No. 544, of about A.D. 1050, contains the hitherto unrecorded work of another Persian Christian called "Simon the Persecuted", *Shim'un Redhīpa*. There is no question

that it is genuine. The author gives us details concerning the state of Christianity in his day in North and North-east Persia He speaks of Persian heretics such as Washnāyans and Kazūdāyans of whom nothing is known.

The *Book of Treasures* by the Syrian physician and philosopher Job, of Edessa, is a complete repertory of the philosophical and natural sciences just at the beginning of the 'Abbasid dynasty

MS No. 271 was the official Canonical textbook of the West Syrian Church The colophon expressly states that it was copied for the Patriarchate and for official use of Church dignitaries It belonged to the monastery of Za'farān near Mardin, the residence of the West-Syrian Patriarchs of Antioch.

There are also many works dealing with the extensive Roman propaganda carried on in all the branches of the Syrian Church These works are generally written by men who had reacted against the doctrines preached to them. Also some works by Christians who had joined the Roman Church, and who endeavoured to justify their position before their old co-religionists, against whom they hurl the traditional epithet of heretics

MS. No 561 contains the most important theological work of Theodore of Mopsuestia (A D. 350–428). It is his lost commentary on the Nicene Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Liturgy used in the Greek Church of his day.

The lecturer gave an admirable comparison of a number of Sasanian, Persian, and pre-Islamic Arabic words with the same meaning and finally remarked that the more important and unique texts were being made available for scholars by the serial publication known as the *Woodbrooke Studies.*

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## British Museum

In consequence of structural alterations the Trustees of the British Museum have ordered that the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Egyptian Rooms and the Babylonian Room be closed for a period. The objects from these rooms are now for the

most part packed away and are not available for inspection until further notice. An exhibition of Egyptian papyri, paintings, cloth stuffs, and painted wooden objects is being arranged in the Third Egyptian Room, and will shortly be open to the public. To prevent disappointment, scholars are asked to take note of these arrangements and are warned that they should enquire whether any object or class of objects, described in the guide to these galleries, is available before visiting the British Museum to prosecute special studies.

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## Archæological Atlas of Greater India

The Kern Institute has undertaken the publication of an Archæological Atlas of Greater India (India proper, Ceylon, Further India, and Indonesia). A preliminary list of the maps which the proposed Atlas is to contain will be found subjoined to this notice, but the editors wish it to be understood that this list is by no means final but can be enlarged or modified. Any suggestion made with regard to the proposed scheme will receive careful consideration.

It is the intention of the editors to restrict themselves to ancient, i e pre-Muhammadan India The information embodied in the maps will be chiefly topographical, the ancient names (Sanskrit or Sanskritized) of towns, villages, districts, rivers, etc , being printed in red letters under the modern names

It will be the endeavour of the editors to collect and utilize all available data regarding the ancient topography found in Sanskrit, Pali, and Prakrit literature and inscriptions. There can be little doubt that there are still many passages hidden away in that huge literature which will throw light on the position of a certain locality and which hitherto have escaped notice. The task of collecting such passages cannot, however, be accomplished without the co-operation of many scholars.

The editors, therefore, appeal to the scholars of Great Britain and India to lend them their valuable assistance in this matter. This assistance can best be rendered by the communication of

any passage of geographical interest which will be the more valuable if taken from some little-known or unpublished text. It goes without saying that information derived from other sources (Greek, Chinese, Tibetan, etc ) will be equally welcome.

The Editors :

N. J. KROM, Ph.D.
J PH. VOGEL, Ph.D.
F C. WIEDER, Ph.D.
CAP. J. J. MULDER, *Cartographer.*
A. ZIESENISS, Ph D., *Secretary.*

(Address . Kern Institute,
Leiden, Holland )

LIST OF MAPS

I. Asia (spread of Buddhism and Hinduism , routes of the most important Chinese pilgrims).
II–IV India proper.
V. India proper according to Ptolemy.
VI Special maps of India proper (the campaign of Alexander the Great , the empire of Aśoka ; the empire of the Guptas)
VII Kashmir
VIII The Western Himalaya
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X Ceylon
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XVII–XIX. Java
XX. Sumatra : (*a*) West coast of Sumatra incl. Tapanoeli , (*b*) Palembang and Djambi.
XXI. Bali.

## Notice

Members and Subscribers are reminded that, by Rule 24, all Annual Subscriptions for the coming year are due on 1st January without application from the Society. A great saving would be effected if all members would kindly comply with this rule.

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Will any member give or sell to the Society *Bengal Past and Present*, vol 2, pts. 1 and 2, 1908, complete with the coloured plate to pt. 1, also title pages to both parts and the index which were issued in a supplement.

The Librarian would be grateful for the presentation of any of the following works of which the Library is in need. Information as to the existence of copies for sale would also be welcomed —

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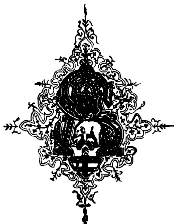
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